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COMING APART AT THE SEAMS?

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New politics in Silicon Valley Congress race

By David Beers

PALO ALTO, CA

Twenty-five years ago it was a patchwork of orchards and vineyards, a sunny bit of the Mediterranean 50 miles south of San Francisco. Now the Santa Clara Valley is Silicon Valley, a sprawl of high-tech industry, tract homes and six-lane freeways. This is where William Shockley developed the transistor, where Hewlett and Packard first tinkered with electronic devices and where Apple Computer started up. This is the place many economists and policy-makers like to point to when they talk about a "post-industrial economy." Silicon Valley is America's eagerly monitored experiment with technology.

And for the most part, it is California's 12th Congressional District, an eclectic blend of maverick voters that includes computer hackers, *nouveaux riches* entrepreneurs and immigrant factory workers. Long represented by Republican liberal Pete Mclosky, the district elected one of its wealthy entrepreneurs, Republican Ed Zschau, in 1982. A former manufacturer of mini-computer disk memories, Zschau quickly became recognized by congressional conservatives as an authority on high-tech business. Now he chairs the House High Technology Committee, heads the powerful pro-business High Technology Caucus (with members on virtually every committee in both houses of Congress) and has championed, among other causes, commercial ventures in outer space.

This year Zschau is being strongly challenged by Martin Carnoy, a Democratic candidate who holds high-tech credentials of his own—but Carnoy is no Atari Democrat. Holder of a degree in electrical engineering from CalTech and a professor of economics and education at Stanford University, Carnoy has espoused a pragmatic kind of democratic socialism. As the congressional race heats up and the two candidates vie for the hearts and minds of Silicon Valley, it becomes increasingly clear that this is more than the usual contest between conservative and liberal ideologies. What is being debated, here on its "home turf," is the basic question of where technology will lead America, and who will control it. The best known of Carnoy's books, *Economic Democracy*, co-authored with Derek Shearer in 1980, lays out practical plans for "(1) the shift of investment control from corporate domination to the public; and (2) the reconstruction of economic decision making through democratic, worker- and worker/consumer-controlled production."

Announcing his candidacy last March, Carnoy declared that the technology boom, powered by the profit motive alone, had bestowed mixed blessings on its producers. "Advanced industrial laboratories are interspersed with schools crippled by chronic shortages of funds. We build sophisticated chips in so-called 'clean rooms,' but our groundwater is polluted. Our innovative spirit can be used to improve the human condition, but it is being channeled into the design and production of incredibly sophisticated weapons of war."

"This district's representative can do a great deal of good—or a massive amount of damage," reads a Carnoy letter seeking funds from traditional Democratic sources across the country. "All the social and economic issues surrounding high-tech, from domestic jobs to international trade, from the militarization of the economy to environmental impacts, will be defined by the Congressman in closest touch with the latest developments on this nation's leading edge." He asks, "Can our party afford not to contest a seat that may literally determine the future direction our nation's political economy will take?"

Carnoy centers the debate on the issue of a government-implemented industrial policy, geared toward the peaceful use of technology. "Right now the country has an industrial policy—it is our military policy," he told *In These Times*. "In 1983 the government handed out more than \$100 billion in prime defense contracts, more than \$20 billion worth in California alone. Now that's a hell of an industrial policy."

Last year \$4 billion of those dollars were funneled into Silicon Valley firms, he points out. "That comes to about \$1,500 for

Democratic congressional candidate Martin Carnoy and his two sons will visit 40,000 homes in his Palo Alto, Calif., district by election day.

every person in the county. If I were to put the same amount of money into this region, but in transportation, education and EPA contracts, this area would convert its application of technology as fast as you can imagine. By its very nature high-tech is a flexible industry—it will produce whatever the contracts ask it to."

His opponent Zschau, in the meantime, is pushing in Congress his own policies aimed at nurturing technology-based business. He advocates more education dollars spent on technical training, greater tax incentives for "risk-taking" venture capitalists, and less stringent anti-trust laws for high-tech companies wanting to collaborate on research and development.

"Only Carnoy is raising the biggest technology issue this year. He's talking about involving workers in decisions about what to produce and how to produce it," says Michael Closson, executive director of Mountain View's Center for Economic Conversion. His organization, which includes engineers, advises electronics and aerospace firms wanting to become less reliant on military contracts.

Local labor is unanimously backing Carnoy, and one of the key reasons again hinges on high-tech: union leaders like Vira Milirides, president of Communication Workers of America Local 9423 in San Jose, are worried about automation in the workplace. "We see the amount of jobs that are evaporating as technology takes over work," she says. Most members of her local are employed—or laid off—by the reshuffled and rapidly automating Bell Telephone System. "Technology creates highly skilled jobs for engineers and technicians, but by and large it shifts workers into the low-paying service sector. We are witnessing a shrinking of the middle class," says Milirides.

Carnoy has pledged to involve labor in the formulation of an overdue national policy softening automation's impact on the work-

THE STORY INSIDE

force. Milirides says, "Martin Carnoy impresses me with his real understanding of the potential problems—he's one of the few in politics who seems to grasp the long-term effects technology could have on our economy."

"Carnoy has been a strong proponent of social responsibility in the industry," agrees Peter Cervantes-Gautschi, head of the Santa Clara Valley Labor Council. "Zschau, on the other hand, has been a consistent proponent of the foxes watching the chicken coop."

He offers this example: "Dozens of electronics companies are responsible for some of the most deadly toxic waste problems in the county. Zschau makes an appeal to the industry leaders, asking them to please use their expertise to do something about it. Carnoy says, 'These guys have known about this for at least seven years. Get the EPA to clean it up, then send the companies the bill.'"

No reliable polls have been conducted yet, but Carnoy concedes that beating the incumbent will be a "long, uphill battle," made even more difficult by the big money lined up behind Zschau. His access to high-tech dollars is one reason Zschau is already being mentioned as the Republican candidate to oppose Alan Cranston in California's 1986 senatorial race.

Yet Carnoy thinks Zschau's last-minute media-blitz will leave voters cold—"people are sick of media"—and that a string of upcoming debates will swing opinion his way. "I'll nail him," Carnoy predicts. "He's a waffler." He says: "Visiting people at their homes leaves an impression. The grassroots approach is the key." And recently he has even been receiving support from some not-so-grassroots sources: Steve Wozniak, the co-founder of Apple Computers is the latest of several young high-tech millionaires to give the author of *Economic Democracy* his endorsement.

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Unions fight for job security

By David Moberg

BADLY BUFFETED IN THE economic storms of recent years and still reeling despite the economic recovery, the auto workers and coal miners—often among the most militant unions in the past—both settled moderate new contracts on the same day. Neither is likely to raise labor costs. Both were negotiated with an eye primarily on job security. And both reflect the dilemma of a union trying to protect jobs—especially union jobs—as well as companies in increasingly competitive industries while it simultaneously fights the same companies for better pay and work conditions.

United Auto Workers (UAW) President Owen Bieber went into the negotiations with General Motors aiming for an historic breakthrough that would give the union significant control over where the company would build cars and parts. The union ended up with a plan that would protect the income of workers displaced by new technology, shifts of production to other factories or negotiated improvements in productivity until those workers could be placed in new jobs. Based on a proposal made by GM, the plan has much in common with previous union agreements covering printing trades and longshoremen. People who now have jobs—and at least one year's seniority—are protected from displacement due to technological change and "outsourcing," but the company has an essentially free hand to invest how and where it likes.

Consequently, the auto work force will continue to shrink rapidly. One well-informed source estimates that over the next three years GM will lop off 40,000 UAW jobs by finding new sources for parts and for small cars and will eliminate another 50,000 through productivity increases, primarily new robots, computers, presses and assembly devices. Around 40,000 slots will be opened up through attrition as workers retire or leave the industry. But by this same rough calculation, GM may as a result of this contract retain another 30,000 jobs, mainly in parts plants, that it might have outsourced with a more traditional contract. In any case, that would mean that GM will either have to support or find jobs for roughly 50,000 workers, drawing on a sum of more than \$1 billion over the next two contract periods.

The company and union agree on the number of displaced slots in the job security "bank" based on job shifts and productivity improvements minus workers who retire or leave. Anyone in the "bank" could be assigned to training programs or jobs in auto plants or anywhere else with great flexibility.

Of course, the new job security program offers no protection if the auto industry crashes in a new recession, as many expect, or if foreign imports (even "captive imports" by U.S. companies) are permitted to flood the market. Workers then would draw on existing plans—supplementary unemployment benefits and, for high-seniority workers, the guaranteed income stream.

But UAW negotiators believe the contract does more than ease the pain of a shrinking auto industry. Primarily they point to a GM letter stating that if a new experimental small car production plan, dubbed Saturn, proves feasible, it will be employed in the U.S. and not overseas. GM "bargained about things in this contract we wouldn't have dreamed of bargaining 10 years ago," UAW spokesman David Mitchell said. But another union staff member commented, "The idea was always to do it here. So the promise means nothing." GM had threatened to drop Saturn if it didn't get a modest set-

tlement, and if that had happened, Ford and Chrysler would have also abandoned most U.S. production of small cars—40 percent of the market, half of which is held by imports now. GM got its modest contract; the UAW got a somewhat hedged commitment.

Beyond Saturn, the contract sets up a \$100 million fund administered by the union and company to develop new businesses to employ UAW members. The job security committees established by the contract also must be notified of technology changes and outsourcing that affects more than 25 workers. The union can then bargain over the decision and attempt to compete for the work. That is likely to intensify competition within the corporation—with downward pressure on wages and work standards, but without flat controls on outsourcing such competition is unavoidable.

To a large extent, the UAW hopes that its monetary settlement will make GM workers more competitive and will keep jobs. Total labor costs should increase by about 20 percent over three years—assuming 5 percent inflation—and productivity increases should cover that. But the union also for the first time reversed its

ers to retirement, and a special "golden handshake" voluntary severance payment that is a part of the new job security program may induce some other workers to leave.

Fighting to protect a larger job base in the auto industry instead of providing job security for existing workers would have led not only to new bargaining terrain but also to a long strike. Critics, such as Pete Kelly, the lone dissenter on the bargaining committee, argued that the present contract does not protect jobs in the industry and merely amounts to "exchanging decks on the Titanic, but eventually you go into the drink."

But the job security program, despite its limitations, apparently satisfied the "overwhelming" majority of GM council union delegates, some of whom groused about the pay package and other provisions but accepted the contract as the best that could be won now. Even some "restore and more" militants supported it.

Partly that reflects a chastened consciousness among auto workers. Without a public policy supporting income and job security as well as greater equality, auto workers—or workers in any industry—rely exclusively on the health of

of the auto worker? The balance of tension between cooperation and conflict, never resolvable at the level of one factory or company but only through a society-wide political change, shifts under pressure now toward cooperation. Yet the inequality of power despite new joint committees and union advisory powers undercuts the union in other ways as long as GM holds all the trump cards.

The United Mine Workers faced a similar dilemma. With an estimated 70,000 miners out of work, a depressed export market due to international competition and a strong dollar, and weak demand from the steel industry, coal miners were not in a strong position. Although some companies were surviving profitably, others were squeezed—often squeezing workers in return through tactics such as subleasing and subcontracting work to firms, including their own dummy operations, that did not abide by the union contract.

The new UMW president, Richard Trumka, was politically astute in defining the union's goal as "no backward steps, no takeaway contracts." That appealed to miners' traditional militancy, yet meant that he could deliver his promise with a modest economic package—10.25 increase in wages over the 40-month contract plus pension and other benefit improvements. Miners also won new restrictions on subcontracting.

Union leaders felt that a strike would



Pickets at Cadillac Assembly Plant react after hearing that the UAW had reached agreement on a three-year contract with GM.

historical trend toward greater equality of wages. It also accepted lump-sum payments in the second and third year that do not raise the base rate of pay, and continued profit-sharing without restoring the long-established 3 percent annual raise.

Although the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) was preserved, a significant sum was diverted—so that workers essentially paid for their own pension increases—and accumulated COLA was not all included in the new base rate of pay. Each of these apparently minor adjustments saves the company many millions of dollars in benefit payments and future labor costs.

Nevertheless, when compared with labor costs of \$10 an hour or less at a non-union shop in the Sunbelt or a couple dollars and hour in Mexico or Korea, such restraint means little. The union hopes, however, to use its moderation to pressure GM to slow outsourcing and the White House to renew the limits on Japanese imports.

Although unions in Europe, where the work year is already shorter, have fought for less worktime as a way to spread jobs, the UAW concluded that GM couldn't afford significant reductions. And only minor restraints on overtime were won. Pension increases may speed a few work-

their own industry or company for ultimate security. If there is also no public industrial policy for easing drastic transactions, the burden falls primarily on those workers. And many workers begin to identify with corporate needs, not seeing any alternatives.

"From the labor side they realize that for their organization and members to be successful, their employer has to be successful," commented David E. Cole, director of the Office for the Study of Automotive Transportation at the University of Michigan. "This is a difference from earlier in the labor movement as a result of international competitiveness.... The framework [in this contract] is provided in not resisting automation and in accepting management's prerogative on outsourcing. The framework is also established for more effective local agreements, a system that's more flexible on work rules."

Now the company and the union have moved toward a "mutual recognition of a common enemy—the internationalization of the industry and competition coming from offshore," Cole said. The attitude is: "We can't afford to kick each other in the teeth any more when the enemy is somebody else."

But is General Motors really the friend

almost certainly be lengthy and might be fought over issues—such as further subcontracting controls—that affected only a minority of members. Use of the new selective strike strategy against any of the 32 companies remaining in the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) would have led to a lockout by the others. But the new strike fund is likely to be needed on October 1 when the old agreement expires in trying to enforce the new contract at a new recalcitrant breakaway companies, such as the notoriously anti-union A.T. Massey Company, that were not among the more than 100 companies outside BCOA that nevertheless agreed to abide by the contract terms.

The UMW also agreed to a new statement of joint interests with the coal companies. Industry expert Curtis Seltzer thinks that much of management is now more open to cooperation with the union. The share of coal mined by the union continues to slip, and the union recognizes the competitive pressures. But organizers also felt that a settlement without a long strike would help recruit non-union miners. That would strengthen the union's hand for the next contract, when they feel they may be better prepared for any fight that is needed despite the new cooperation born of adversity.

IN SHORT

Tentatively yours

After a month of hearings for Vietnam veterans suffering from exposure to the herbicide Agent Orange and another month of deliberation, U.S. District Court Judge Jack Weinstein has tentatively approved the \$180 million settlement between the veterans and the seven chemical companies that manufactured the herbicide. Lawyers and veterans were not surprised by the judge's decision, reports Jon Kalish. Said Frank McCarthy, president of the Vietnam Veterans Agent Orange Victims: "We felt that he would approve it. It's the only logical, equitable solution to this litigation."

In his 456-page decision, Weinstein said that scientific uncertainties and legal obstacles made the settlement preferable to a trial and the inevitable appeals that would follow. Echoing his frequent courtroom assertions that the veterans would not be able to prove that the dioxin-contaminated herbicide caused their medical problems, Weinstein wrote: "...the evidence presented to the court to date suggests that the case is without merit." Yet he was clearly moved by the plight of the veterans and their families. "No amount of money can compensate them for the suffering they've endured," he declared. The judge conceded that the \$180 million—which is now earning \$60,000 in interest each day—won't be sufficient to compensate the Agent Orange victims. He added that the possibility of attaining government benefits in the future was a factor in his decision to approve the settlement. Judge Weinstein must still approve a distribution plan that will establish what illnesses will be covered by the settlement and how much money will be paid for each illness. He must also determine what legal fees will be paid to the veterans' lawyers, who are reportedly claiming between \$11 and \$23 million.

Rid-a-Reagan

Two recent publications give ample ammunition—President Reagan's record—for use in the campaign month ahead:

- "The Reagan Presidency," a 16-page tabloid size reprint from Friends of the Earth is a zippy, hard-hitting facts and analysis of the economy, human services, the environment and foreign and military policy. It gets right to the point from its opening volley—titled "The Polls Have Already Re-elected Ronald Reagan—So We Concede the Election Already?"—that calls the perception that Reagan's a shoo-in "the most dangerous myth in America today" to its final four boiled-down reasons to defeat the Great Prevaricator. Sandwiched in between are facts and figures on Reagan's "work" in areas as diverse as strip mining and bilingual education. This publication goes for breadth, not depth, but manages to put a lot of revealing facts in a useful context. "The Reagan Presidency" is available from Friends of the Earth, 1045 Sansome St., San Francisco, CA 94111. Single copies—\$1; two to five—75¢ each; six or more—50¢ each.

- "End Results: The Impact of Federal Policies Since 1980 on Low-Income Americans" is a 41-page study completed by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and published by the Interfaith Action for Economic Justice. This is a well-documented, in-depth account of the Reagan economy with a focus on his strategy of letting the poor bear the burden. It explains the resurgence of poverty in plain terms and includes a useful section on "how to lower the deficit without harming those with low incomes." Available from the Interfaith Action for Economic Justice, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002. One to five copies—\$2 each; six or more—\$1.25 each.

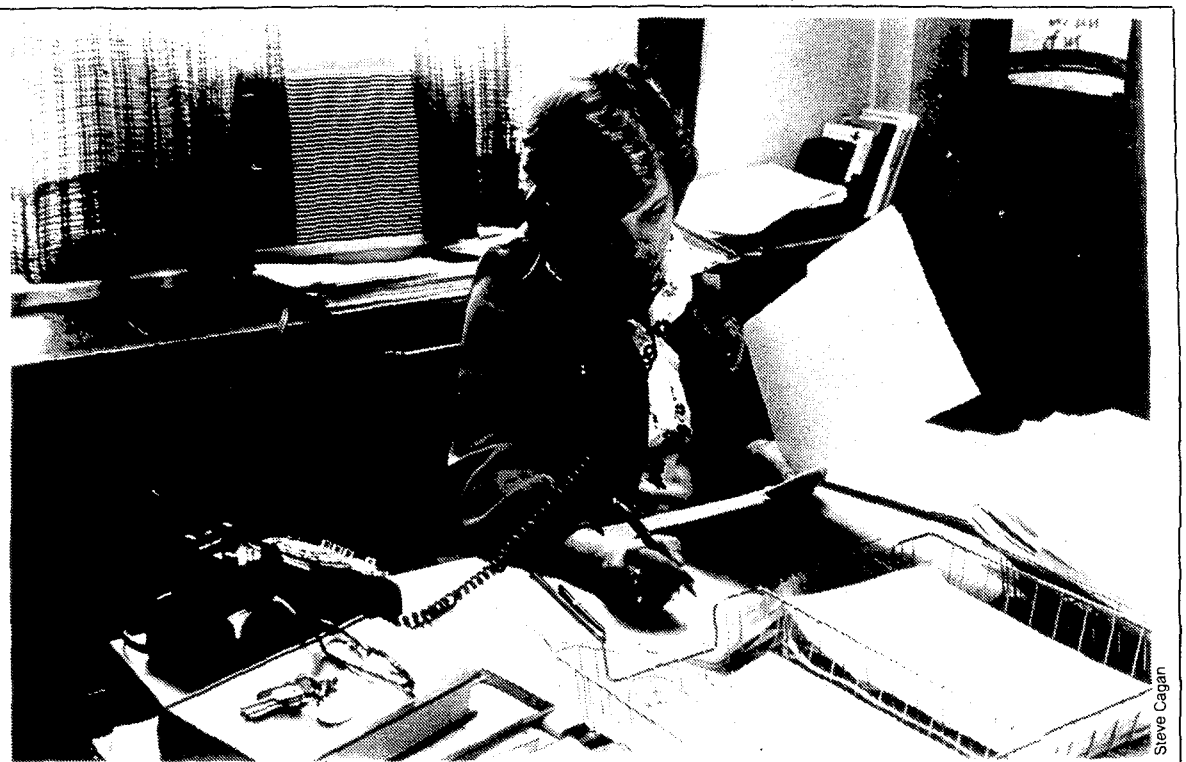
Home is where the heat is

If the General Services Administration (GSA) has its way, the streets of Washington will soon be dotted with seven-foot-high brown metal huts to protect the heating grates from the homeless men and women who sleep on them. Two have been constructed across from the State Department near a park where the homeless often congregate, according to a recent *Washington Post* article. Said Ted Leininger of the GSA to the *Post*: "There are a lot of people who live and work around those grates who would like to have these people gone." Apparently the GSA has learned a lesson in public image in the last decade, however. In the mid-'70s the government agency installed spikes on several of the grates. The public furor that resulted caused them to look for a more palatable solution this time around. But Mitch Snyder of the Community for Creative Nonviolence isn't biting: he called the decision "really disgusting" and vowed to have the huts removed.

It's a family affair

According to a recent issue of *Advertising Age*, Betty Crocker ain't what she used to be. The name once synonymous with a warm, rather matronly homemaker who turns out the best chocolate cake for her family may be gone forever. General Mills' new ads stress the sensuous side of Betty: one features a man licking frosting from his fingers while a sexy female voice intones: "Oh, talk to me honey." Another spotlights a man digging into a moist Betty Crocker cake. Other advertisers were made privy to the high-minded strategy the image remake involved at an *Ad Age* workshop titled "It's Not Easy Being Sleazy."

—Beth Maschinot



Women clerical workers make up the bulk of Yale's Local 34.

'9 to 5' goes prime time

NEW HAVEN—When more than 2,000 Yale employees walked off the job last week, it was a strike made for TV.

Wind- and rain-swept clerical and technical workers, represented by Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, walked the picket line to protest the lack of a first contract after a year of negotiations. "Pay us what we're worth," they demanded, carrying signs and wearing "59¢" buttons.

Members of Local 34's "brother union" of blue-collar workers honored the picket lines, crippling the prestigious university and sending students out of their shut-down dining halls and into local pizza parlors by the droves. Sympathetic professors held hundreds of classes off campus in church basements and community centers.

From the very beginning, Local 34—which as an office workers union is on the cutting edge of non-industrial "pink collar" labor organizing—has shown itself to be innovative when it comes to public relations. And since the

May 1983 re-election in which it narrowly won the right to represent Yale's 2,650 clerical and technical workers, the union leaders have grown increasingly adept at playing the PR game.

The Friday before the strike organizers gathered thousands of union members and supporters from the community to chant and sing at a rally in Yale's Beinecke Plaza. They imported a big name, civil rights and labor activist Bayard Rustin, to drop a bombshell on the university administration. Last May Rustin received an honorary degree from Yale. He returned to the University to exorcise the administration for refusing to submit to binding arbitration.

"I may be almost 75 years old and gray headed, but I still have a sense of smell," Rustin told the crowd. "And I smell a rat."

That rally was timed to coincide with a meeting of the Yale Corporation, which sets university policy, as it discussed the impending strike in a nearby administration building. But union organizers had gone beyond the traditional rally-and-press-conference strategy to put pressure on individual corporation trustees by researching their background and confronting them

publicly.

A union delegation visited the Harvard classroom of Deborah Rhode—a Yale trustee and scholar who writes about sex discrimination—and distributed leaflets addressed to her. "We have seen you recognize the problem of sex discrimination in our society today," the leaflets read. "What we cannot understand is why you remain silent as Yale's female and black employees remain victims of economic discrimination."

Local 34 has also prepared a video tape of union members—whose jobs range from librarians and secretaries to medical technicians and telephone operators—explaining how hard it is for a woman to raise a family on her own on an average annual salary of \$13,473. A copy was mailed to each trustee. A professionally prepared booklet distributed to faculty members and reporters makes the same case, contrasting the low salary with Yale's \$1.2 billion endowment.

Yale, of course, has always had the resources to conduct slick public relations campaigns. But in Local 34, Yale may have finally met its match—both on TV and in the workplace.

—Paul and Carole Bass

Abortion cuts in California?

SAN FRANCISCO—Bolstered by the GOP's anti-abortion platform, the Republican administration of California Governor George Deukmejian appears to have launched a new campaign to eliminate state funding for family planning agencies that provide abortion services.

Administration staffers refuse to acknowledge any such plan, but a series of recent moves by

the California Department of Health Services has led pro-choice activists to suggest that the governor may be, as one put it, "attempting to implement the Republican Party platform in California."

Evidence of such a scheme is convincing:

Barbara Aved, director of the state's Office of Family Planning and a longtime friend of family planning groups, was informed that she would be replaced. Less than two weeks later the state Department of Health Services suddenly and inexplicably announced it was withholding \$15 million

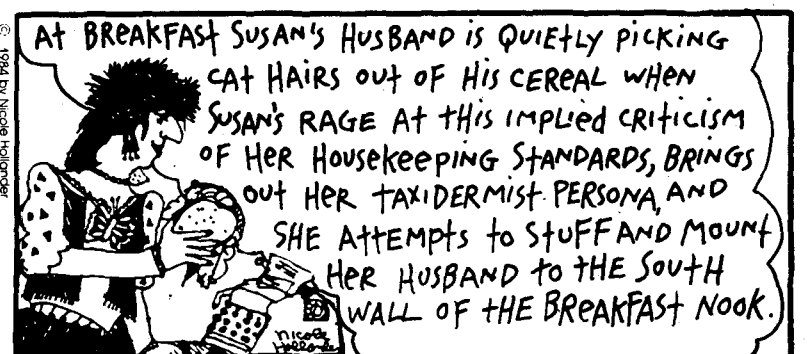
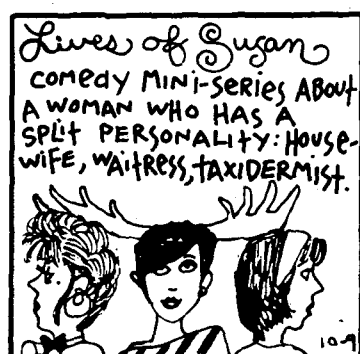
in state funds from 41 agencies that provide family planning services.

Documents recently obtained by Planned Parenthood under the state Public Records Act show that in the months before the funding freezes were announced, officials of the American Life Lobby (ALL), an anti-abortion group, launched a full-scale campaign to convince Deukmejian aides to cancel state funds for "Planned Parenthood, women's feminist centers and similar agencies."

However, administration officials deny any connection bet-

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

ween the events. John Haggerty, acting chief deputy director for health services, said Aved was removed from office "as part of a regular management rotation program." He added that she would be assigned another job in health services.

Peggy Bengs, an assistant secretary for health and welfare, said the family planning funds "are being held up for a management review of the contract language." She refused to elaborate, saying, "We're not talking about what [changes] are being considered."

Aved, however, said she was not asked to participate in the decision to withhold the funds. She said the 41 contracts held up were the last of 168 agreements her office processed for 1984-1985. On Aug. 17th, Aved informed the agencies that they are liable for all services they provide until the state completes its review and decides how to allocate the contract money. The allocations will begin in mid-October.

The decision to withhold state funds for the 41 agencies was apparently made entirely behind closed doors. The health department made no formal announcement of its decision, and both

Planned Parenthood officials and Bay Area legislators have been unable to get any official explanation.

John Stoos, ALL's western regional director, confirmed that his organization had lobbied for the restrictions. "We went to [Secretary of Health and Welfare] David Swoap and asked for his help," he said. "He agreed with our concerns that funding was being used by agencies such as Planned Parenthood for services supporting abortion and said he would look into it."

Stoos said American Life Lobby directed its efforts at the legislature, Deukmejian and Swoap.

When Deukmejian did not cut the funding for the Office of Family Planning immediately, Stoos' organization went to Swoap. "David Swoap shares those [anti-abortion] convictions. We have hit the nail on the head with him," declared Stoos.

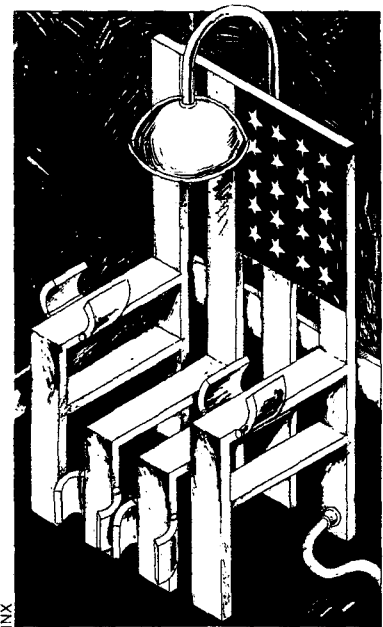
Although Stoos didn't know the nature of the Health Service Department's contract revisions, he said he was optimistic about the outcome. "I think the fact that Planned Parenthood is getting so upset is an indication that we are having an effect."

—Todd Woody

many of our youths live."

Both the U.S. and Florida Supreme Courts rejected the defense argument and a September 13 ruling by an appellate judge in Orange County that "the decision to sentence the defendant to death was motivated by impermissible racial discrimination." Statistics have shown that blacks are incarcerated at twice the rate whites are for assaulting police officers. While nearly 45 percent of Florida's homicide victims are black, a death sentence is eight times more likely for those whose victims are white.

The Congressional Black Caucus in May this year joined



with the SCLC and the NAACP in calling for a moratorium on capital punishment in Florida "until the question of race has been resolved."

But there is no end in sight to executions in Florida. The governor signed two more death warrants September 19, with two executions set for October 16. Gov. Graham has said that with each execution the state of Florida shows the seriousness with which it respects human life.

—Jay Murphy

Death Row discrimination

TALLAHASSEE, FL—Again the eerie, mournful tones of bagpipes rang through the Lower Rotunda of the Florida state capitol building September 20 to signal the electrocution of James Dupree Henry.

It was the first time in the state's history that a black man had been executed for killing another black. Henry was condemned in 1974 for killing Z.L. Riley during a convenience store robbery. Although Riley, an 81-year-old civil rights leader, was well known in the Orlando community, the community outcry focused on the wounding of a white police officer who first tried to arrest Henry for the crime.

Henry's attorneys argued that he was sentenced to death because of his assault on the police officer, not because he killed Riley. In his instructions to the jury and in his sentencing, the judge emphasized the wounding of the white officer. Analysis of Orlando's daily newspaper's coverage of the trial also proved revealing: headlines about the trial discussed the assault on the policeman 75 percent of the time and discussed the killing of Riley only 25 percent; 67 percent of the articles in the paper were about the wounding of the officer, 27 percent discussed the homicide. The one photograph published in the paper about the trial was a large picture of the white policeman.

Gov. Robert Graham ignored pleas from Riley's family, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Coretta Scott King to commute Henry's sentence. Orange County's NAACP—which Z.L. Riley was active in—also opposed the execution. A spokesperson for the civil rights group said, "We recognize that killing his killer will not stop killing nor will it stop the conditions under which too

Briefing: In Massachusetts 'textbook campaigns' beat old guard Democrats

Massachusetts Republicans, long an endangered species, seemed bent on their own extinction after the state's September 18 primary, nominating right-wing Senate candidate Ray Shamie over moderate Elliott Richardson to face Democratic Lieutenant Governor John Kerry in November. But the pendulum swung the other way among Democrats, especially in state legislative races, where voters favored liberal and left Democrats over moderate and conservative opponents. Most significant, several upsets saw conservative incumbent power-brokers lose seats to veterans of the state's powerful grassroots community organizations. Two races in particular were "textbook campaigns" for the left, said the field director of one. "They prove that nothing in state politics can be taken for granted anymore."

"State representative races aren't really issues-oriented—they're much more 'sticks and stones' campaigns," says Lee Ash, who ran John McDonough's successful primary bid to replace the dean of the State House, James Craven (D-Jamaica Plain). Ash learned that the hard way, helping McDonough steer through a barrage of accusations and smears throughout the campaign, in a racially and economically mixed Boston district that includes housing projects in mainly black Roxbury and Irish Catholic neighborhoods in Jamaica Plain.

Craven and others attacked McDonough as a "carpetbagger from Cambridge" (he's lived in Jamaica Plain eight years), a pro-abortion anti-Catholic, a "tenant radical." When insults failed, McDonough's opponents resorted to the highest form of flattery, imitation, producing leaflets and literature that mimicked McDonough's, right down to the typeface. With candidates named McDonald and John McLaughlin also in the field (widely considered a deliberate vote-splitting move) voter confusion was political capital to be exploited.

But the enmity was testimony to McDonough's formidable campaign. While his opponents were smearing him, McDonough was walking precincts, building an organization of 350 volunteers and avoiding personal attacks on Craven. The incumbent, who was fined and censured by the house for a conflict of interest involving family-owned property, had alienated many constituents on his own, and they were receptive to McDonough's promises of accountability and access.

McDonough also benefited from strong support by Massachusetts labor, tenants, consumer and women's groups. Massachusetts Fair Share made the race an electoral priority, as did the Massachusetts Tenants Organization (of which McDonough was a founder). Although Craven won the state AFL-CIO's endorsement, McDonough got the support of individ-

ual unions, most notably two SEIU locals and AFSCME, as well as the Clothing and Textile and Garment Workers Union (he ran the J.P. Stevens boycott in Massachusetts).

The efforts paid off in a 3,145 to 2,190 primary victory. Now, unlike many primary victors, McDonough faces a Republican opponent in the November election. "A lot of people think it's over, but I'm taking it seriously," he said. McDonough believes redbaiting, which was confined to "the rumor market" during the primary, could begin in earnest in the general election. Already Republican candidate Susan Cornell has attacked him as "too socialistic," though so far his past leadership role in Boston Democratic Socialists Organizing Committee (DSOC) and current Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) membership haven't become campaign issues. DSA is an organization that's

Senate President William Bolger.

"Rules reform got us a base of volunteers, people who knew who Foley was and how knocking him out would have an impact statewide," says Houston campaign manager Ellen Carno. "From there, we had to explain to average voters how rules reform would affect their lives."

A key issue in making that link was auto insurance. Massachusetts has the second highest rates in the country, and Foley, a former insurance agent, was active in blocking attempts to allow more competitive group insurance rates. That Foley's son is the insurance industry's chief lobbyist on Beacon Hill tarnished the incumbent further.

Houston was aided by voters' perception "that Foley was more accountable to [Senate President] Billy Bolger than to his district," says field director Jean Weinberg. Houston made the most of Foley's distance from constituents by knocking on more than 10,000 doors per-



John McDonough, Massachusetts Dems' hope for state rep.

part of the Democratic Party, as I am. My role in the party, in supporting Ray Flynn and Gov. Dukakis, has been clear. But my platform is based on bread-and-butter issues, and DSA promotes full employment, decent health care, a fairer distribution of resources—nothing I'm in any way ashamed of."

McDonough refused DSA's public endorsement, however. "I don't think of endorsements as purity tests, I think of them as tools to help a politician get a message across," he says. "They have to be useful, and in this race I didn't think a DSA endorsement was useful."

Perhaps the biggest upset in the Democratic primary was John Houston's defeat of Senate Majority Leader Dan Foley (D-Worcester), a 16-year incumbent. In Houston's race, as to a lesser extent in McDonough's, legislative rules reform was a major issue, with Houston clearly part of the movement to lessen the power of House Speaker Thomas McGee and

sonally and attracting more than 1,000 volunteers.

Abortion was an issue, as it always is in Massachusetts politics. But Houston's pro-choice stand may have helped more than hurt him. "Most people worry that the pro-lifers will throw them out of office," says Weinberg, who, like Carno, was formerly with the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). "But in this race John had staff and volunteers who worked for him because they were tired of abortion being legislated."

In the end, Houston won by 2,400 votes. His work with Massachusetts Fair Share on energy programs, with unions on plant closing legislation, and with Worcester good government groups on city charter reform earned him votes, Houston said, but it also reflects his belief in the need for "more democracy, to enhance the power of the average citizen. People aren't going to go for right wing solutions if they think them through."

—Joan Walsh

IN THE NATION

CONGRESS

Bruce Morrison braces for bitter rematch with '82 foe

By Carole and Paul Bass

This is the fifth in a series on freshman Congressman Bruce Morrison of Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN, CT

TWO YEARS AGO HE WAS AN outsider. At that time Democratic Party hacks stood outside the polls and told people to vote for his Republican opponent. Area business people considered him a "dangerous liberal."

But much has changed since Bruce Morrison won his upset victory over Reaganite Republican Larry DeNardis in 1982. This time around the party hacks are helping to run his campaign, hailing him as a future national leader. And the business community no longer stands clearly for or against him—some bankers and other businesspeople have even decided to support him in his bitter rematch against DeNardis.

One such former DeNardis supporter is Connecticut Savings Bank President Paul Johnson. "I don't always agree with him," Johnson says of Morrison, "but I've never seen anyone who works harder for his constituency."

You wouldn't have expected to see Morrison receive such reviews when he took office and listed eight promises for his first term in an *In These Times* inter-

view (Jan. 12, 1983). He promised, among other things, to oppose Ronald Reagan's arms buildup and Central America policy, to seek restrictions on open-ended federal bail-outs and to increase aid for impoverished cities and low-income housing.

And because the 40-year-old former legal aid lawyer has kept his word, the feminists, environmentalists, peace activists and—above all—union members who elected him to his first term are working at least as hard this time to reelect him. Many freeze advocates who felt uninspired about working for Walter Mondale have now thrown themselves into the Democratic campaign, coordinating with Morrison's office a canvassing effort in New Haven's suburbs.

How did Morrison manage to broaden his base while actually increasing the enthusiasm of his original supporters? In one sense he had to: Reagan is expected to win big in Connecticut, which has a party lever that enabled the then-little-known DeNardis to win his first term in Congress in 1980 on Reagan's coattails. Morrison beat DeNardis by only about 1 percent of the vote in 1982.

Morrison's re-election strategy—although staunchly anti-Reagan, he does not call himself a socialist, and indeed he's not—may offer encouragement to Democratic candidates who want to

stand firmly against a popular Republican president. That is, if he can pull it off.

A lot of people outside the New Haven area are watching closely to see if he can. Concerned about his outspoken left-liberal stands and aware of how close the election may be, the Republican National Campaign Committee has listed the Morrison-DeNardis rematch as one of its top five races. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Medical Association have targeted Morrison for defeats as well.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has also placed his re-election effort among its top five electoral priorities, and Freeze Voter '84, NARAL, NOW and the League of Conservation Voters (which was neutral in 1982) have chosen to throw their resources behind Morrison.

But for all the money those groups may have, they don't represent a single vote in Connecticut's Third U.S. Congressional District, and Morrison knows that. So while he lobbied against the MX missile and spoke out against the Grenada invasion, he instead filled his constituent newsletters with reports about tasks he had performed for the people of the district: getting flood relief for the town of Milford, preparing a handbook for Vietnam veterans. He threw in some Bob Forehead-type touches, such as printing a photo of himself on St. Patrick's Day presenting House Speaker Tip O'Neill a green bagel baked in a suburban New Haven bakery.

Morrison has also spent half his time in his district, missing few parades or outdoor festivals. He even showed up recently at a dance for a New Haven fraternal group.

He has become a protege of sorts of Democratic New Haven Mayor Biagio DiLieto, who has made an enormously successful local political career out of attending wakes, rather than speaking out on issues. In 1982 DiLieto supporters quietly worked for DeNardis, with whom they felt more ethnic and ideological affinity. But now DiLieto and Morrison seem inseparable at local events. At a recent rally for Geraldine Ferraro, DiLieto surpassed even his own normal standard of political hyperbole, calling Morrison "the greatest Congressman in the history of the Third District."

That rally took place in the heavily Italian Wooster Square neighborhood, where DiLieto enjoys tremendous personal appeal. Morrison has been doing all he can to capitalize on that appeal. Early in the summer he called on Mondale to pick the Italian-American Ferraro as his running mate. He told *In These Times* that he believed "making my feelings clear in public was an important statement to several constituencies"—namely Italian-Americans and women.

Morrison has proved a loyal Democrat, staying out of local squabbles and reassuring machine Democrats who worried that since he was elected despite them he would go beyond their control. He has further endeared himself to DiLieto by securing federal money to help pay for the mayor's grand economic development plans.

Morrison's support of local economic development has appeased local businessmen as well. He succeeded in getting a \$6 million Urban Development Action Grant to assist a private \$250 million development plan on New Haven's unsight-

ly harbor.

"Every politician in the state has taken credit for the \$6 million UDAG," says Paul Morris, the vice-president of the corporation carrying out the project. "But Bruce is really the only politician besides Ben DiLieto with any direct involvement."

He and other businesspeople agree that Morrison surprised them with the "energy" and "good sense" he has thrown into seeking federal help for the district. Morrison earned some respect as well by joining the Democratic Business Council, a group of party officeholders and corporate officials formed to give business greater input into Democratic policy.

In addition, he has met regularly with area businesspeople, reassuring them that while he sharply differs on some issues, he's willing to listen. For that reason DeNardis may win more business votes but cannot count on that community for solid support. "He's matured," New Haven's most prominent developer, Joel Schiavone, says of Morrison. "Two years ago he was a knee-jerk liberal of the worst sort. I don't know if the office has melted him or if I've misjudged him." In any case, Schiavone, who supported DeNardis in 1982, is torn this year, so he's

CAMPAIGN



Bruce Morrison's re-election strategy may offer some encouragement to Democratic candidates who want to stand firmly against a popular president.

given money to both candidates.

In an interview Morrison sounded confident that his broadened base will help him overcome the party lever. He said he's "assuming for purposes of planning" that Reagan will defeat Mondale in the district. (The last Democratic presidential candidate to win it was Hubert Humphrey in 1968.) But he pointed to the fact that liberal Democratic U.S. Senator Chris Dodd won the district along with Reagan in 1980. Voters are willing to split their tickets for a candidate they trust even if they don't agree with all of his or her positions, Morrison said.

"My base has grown, but there hasn't been any suggestion that I've sold my soul on the issues," he said.

Carole and Paul Bass are New Haven-based freelance writers.

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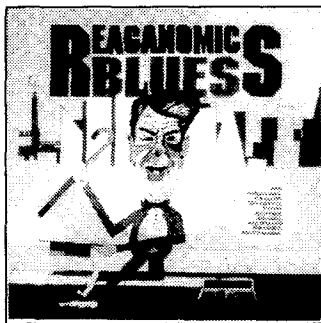
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By John B. Judis

This is second of a two-part series on politics and religion.

IN DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL candidate John F. Kennedy's 1960 speech before the Houston Ministerial Association, he advocated an "absolute" separation of church and state, "where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the pope, the National Council of Churches, or any other ecclesiastical source, where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials."

Twenty-four years later, on September 13, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, in a speech at Notre Dame University in South Bend, Ind., argued that Catholic politicians could vote for public abortion funding and still be "fully Catholic."

Although the framework of Cuomo's speech was ostensibly narrower than Kennedy's, the contrast was astonishing. In 1960 Kennedy was trying to draw the sharpest line between his religion and his politics. He wanted voters (at least in the Protestant South) simply to ignore that he was a Catholic. In 1984 Cuomo was trying to find the right combination of Catholic religion and responsible liberal Democratic politics.

Of course, Kennedy was running for president, and Cuomo need not face New York's substantially Catholic voters for another two years. But Cuomo was still speaking indirectly on behalf of Catholic vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, who had been under attack from New York Archbishop John J. O'Connor for opposing a constitutional ban on abortion and favoring abortion funding for the poor.

The profound alteration in this debate over politics and religion reflects in part the public's acceptance of Catholics as a political interest group with their own internal dialectic. It also reflects the public's growing hunger for a new national *raison d'être* (the optimism of Horatio Alger and the American Century having gone the way of Bretton Woods and Vietnam). The current religious revival is part and parcel of the quest for "roots" and "community."

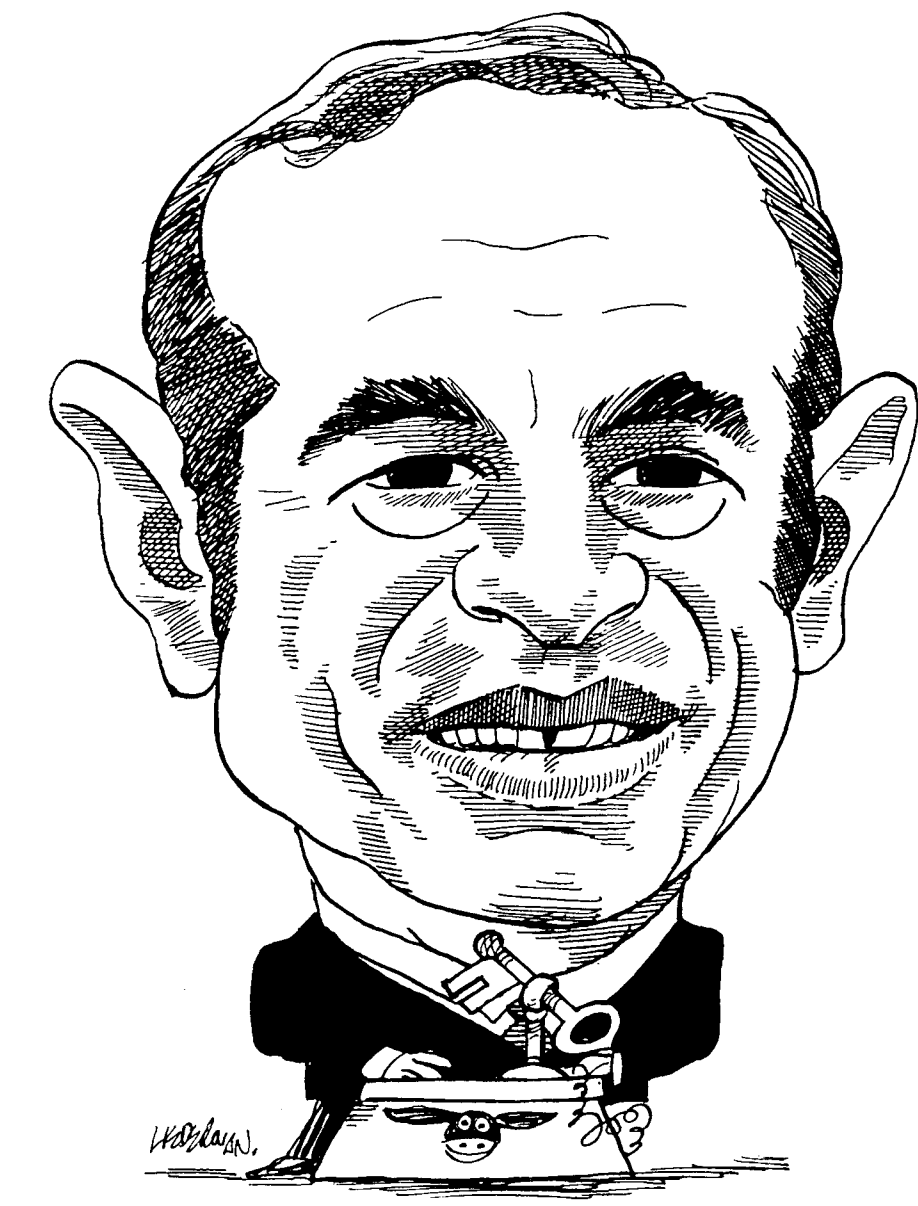
In such a context there is probably little danger of new religious wars, but there is substantial danger of public policy being obscured and the Constitution subverted by doctrinal presuppositions. At Notre Dame, Cuomo was trying to show how a good Catholic could oppose a constitutional ban on abortion.

Personal and political.

Cuomo's approach was prompted by a running debate this summer between him and newly appointed New York Archbishop John J. O'Connor. On June 24 O'Connor said, "I don't see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate who explicitly supports abortion." In an August 2 interview Cuomo accused O'Connor of counseling Catholics to vote against liberal Democrats, including himself and Ferraro. Cuomo explained that while he personally opposed abortion on religious grounds, he could not, as a Catholic politician, "insist that everybody believe what we believe." In interviews Ferraro drew a similar distinction between her personal religious beliefs and her public political practice.

What Cuomo deplored in O'Connor's stand was not his opposition to abortion *per se*—the modern Church has been on record against the right to abortion all along—but his making a politician's stand on abortion the single measure of a Catholic's support. Boston's newly appointed Archbishop Bernard F. Law confirmed Cuomo's fears when, in a statement supported by 18 other New England bishops, he described abortion as "the key issue" in the 1984 elections. To Cuomo and other Catholic Democrats, O'Connor and Law seemed to be throwing their support to Reagan and the Republicans.

O'Connor denied any political motives, reiterating the centrality of abortion. And the U.S. Conference of Catholic



ABORTION

Democrats versus Catholic Church

Bishops issued a statement that was intended to clarify the official Catholic position. But the statement, issued by Bishop James W. Malone, only further inflamed the controversy.

The bishops asserted that the Catholic Conference does "not take a position for or against political candidates," and restated the broad range of issues from nuclear war to aid for the poor that Catholics are concerned with (Cardinal Joseph Bernardin's "seamless web" of issues). But they also reiterated that "with regard to the immorality of the direct taking of innocent life...our views are not simply policy statements [but] a direct affirmation of the constant moral teaching of the Catholic Church."

They also indirectly attacked Cuomo and Ferraro's division between their religious and political positions. "We reject the idea that candidates satisfy the requirements of rational analysis in saying their personal views should not influence their policy decisions. This position would be as unacceptable as would be the approach of a candidate or officeholder

Gov. Cuomo understood the Reagan strategy. His intervention could prevent a larger rush to Reagan by the Bishops and an even more strident assault on Ferraro.

who pointed to his or her personal commitments as qualifications for public office, without proposing to take practical steps to translate these into policies and practical programs."

On this last point, the bishops won the day, as a broad range of Catholic and non-Catholic publications noted. The liberal Catholic journal *Commonweal*, while calling for the Catholic bishops to admit "the reasonableness of divergent views among Catholics on abortion policy," declared its impatience with the "I'm-personally-opposed-to-abortion-but" politicians. "Why are they personally opposed? Why does their personal opposition on other issues—hunger, child abuse—regularly produce proposals for state action, but not on abortion?"

This was a question that Cuomo set out to answer in his Notre Dame speech.

Abortion and civil peace.

Cuomo made two different arguments to justify his own unwillingness to back a constitutional amendment. The first one recalled that of Justice Blackmun in the landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision. Comparing the Church's position on abortion to its position on birth control and divorce, he argued that the choice to have an abortion was a private decision that stemmed from an individual's particular moral and religious values. If the Church tried to impose its religious view of abortion on the populace, then it would be violating the separation between church and state.

Catholic politicians, Cuomo said, take an oath to protect people's "right to divorce, to use birth control and even to choose abortion...not because they love what others do with their freedom, but because they realize that in guaranteeing freedom for all, they guarantee our right to be Catholics."

But this argument ignored rather than came to terms with the presuppositions of the Catholic theologians and prelates. Catholic doctrine on abortion unequivocally rejects the view that abortion is purely a "religious" issue like the Jews'

Mario Cuomo believes politicians can vote for abortion funding and still be fully Catholic.

Sabbath or the Catholic doctrine of the immaculate conception. "Respect for human life is not just a Christian obligation," the Vatican's 1974 *Declaration on Abortion* states. "Human reason is sufficient to impose it on the basis of analysis of what a human person is and should be."

The Catholic prelates, who view abortion as murder, reject that it is comparable to contraception or divorce or that it is a purely private act with no bearing on the welfare of others.

Cuomo's second argument spoke more directly to the bishops. Employing Catholic theologian John Courtney Murray's notion of civil peace—to the preservation of which some evils can be condoned—he contended that a Catholic like himself could agree with the Church's view of abortion, but not accept its political strategy for eliminating it. He said that a constitutional amendment to ban abortion would not eliminate abortions but only "allow people to ignore the cause of many abortions instead of addressing them, much the way the death penalty is used to escape dealing more fundamentally and more rationally with the problem of violent crime."

Slavery and abortion.

His speech won widespread praise, but failed to convince the bishops. If Cuomo's first argument appeared to ignore their fundamental premise, his second argument accepted their premise—that abortion is murder—but then ignored the consequences.

In an interview published in the September 23 *New York Times*, Archbishop Law drew an analogy between the bishops' opposition to abortion and the Protestant ministers' opposition to slavery. Law noted that the Abolitionist ministers had faced the same charge of divisiveness that the pro-life lobby faced.

In his speech Cuomo compared his own position favorably with that of the Catholic Church during the Civil War. While the Church was on record against slavery, it refused to take the political step of favoring a constitutional ban on it. He urged Catholic officialdom to take the same "realistic" attitude toward abortion. But Law and the pro-life bishops turned the same analogy against Cuomo. If abortion is an evil comparable to slavery, why shouldn't those opposed to it press for a constitutional ban?

In a September 24 speech at Notre Dame, Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) posed the question in more contemporary terms. "No consensus was demanded before adopting the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or fair housing legislation," he said. "These were rights, and their proponents helped create a consensus by advocacy and example."

In his battle with the Bishops, Cuomo appears from local polls to have the clear support of the average Catholic in New York, if not elsewhere. A cynic might say that Cuomo's support stems from the fact that he restates on a higher level the contradictory impulses that Catholics have toward abortion.

Like Cuomo, the average Catholic shares the Church's view of abortion as evil, but rejects its call for a ban on abortions. According to a National Opinion Research Center survey last fall, 62 percent of Catholics agreed that "abortion is the same thing as murdering a child," while 66 percent agreed that "abortion sometimes is the best course in a bad situation."

Commonweal editor Peter Steinfels describes the average Catholic's view as "somewhat illogical." "Catholics are like most people when faced with a concrete moral problem," he said. "They rely on a mixture of principle and intuition and cutting corners. When they think about whether to ban abortion in the case of rape or a threat to the mother's life, their intuition tells them they would say no. These intuitions have some validity."

Cuomo's speech falls heir to the illogicality of the lay Catholic position. He believes abortion is murder, but he clear-

Continued on page 10

By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

EAST GERMAN PRESIDENT Honecker's cancelled trip to West Germany could be the non-event of the year. The fanfare and catcalls before, and the heated debate after East Germany called off the trip, showed that the political mood is shifting fast in West Germany in the wake of the Pershing II missile deployment. German reunification is no longer a tabu subject. And signs are growing that conservative-led West Germany, forced into an arms buildup by the U.S., expects to use its military might to drive harder bargains in Eastern Europe.

In the West, a chorus blamed the cancellation on Soviet dictates and predicted that East Germans would resent seeing their head of state reined in by Moscow. But the *Schadenfreude* was all too obvious. Commentators in the U.S., Britain and France more or less openly rejoiced that Chernenko or whoever is running things in the Kremlin woke up long enough to crack down on the East Germans.

The Western ballyhoo in anticipation of the visit originally planned for September 26-30 seemed designed to arouse Soviet distrust. Honecker's trip was interpreted in advance as a sign of East Germany's growing independence, even defiance of Moscow. Much was made of the financial advantages offered Honecker by Bonn.

Social Democratic Party (SPD) leader Willy Brandt afterward criticized the "simple and materialistic" notion—which he said cropped up time and again—that the way to deal with Communist states was to buy them off.

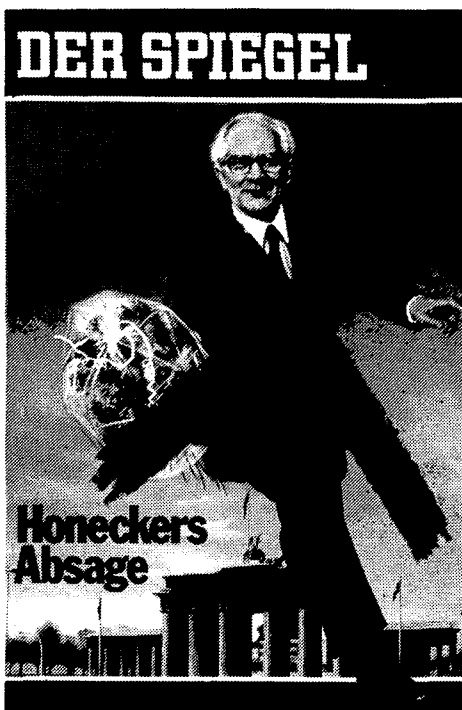
Brandt said that when the Soviet Union and the U.S. were on bad terms, the freedom of movement of both German states was severely cramped. Perhaps, he said, in the shadow of the American presidential elections there was just enough room for a few cautious steps forward. But this opportunity had been lost.

Indeed, the ruling Christian Democrats didn't seem sure they wanted Honecker to come, or that they knew what to do with him once he arrived. The visit was a return for former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to Honecker in December 1981. At that time Honecker wanted to continue discussions on disarmament, but Chancellor Kohl would not go along. He ruled out in advance any discussion at all (much less any settlement) of the three demands Honecker has been making for

The folks in Wiebelskirchen in the Saarland, where the East German Communist leader was born 72 years ago in a coalminer's family, seemed genuinely eager to welcome their native son and genuinely disappointed when his visit was called off. Bonn was another matter. The chancellor's office seemed afraid of anything being there that would lead to eventual recognition of East Berlin as the capital of a legitimate state.

From detente to Reaganism.

The uncertain welcome being prepared for Honecker was a sign of the transitional nature of Kohl's policy, and perhaps his government. Part of his job is to make the transition from SPD detente policy to something else more in line with Reagan administration demands, without unduly alarming the German people, who never asked for any such shift. Last year's mass movement against the stationing of Pershing II nuclear missiles in



IN THE WORLD

EUROPE

Honecker non-visit stirs debate over German policy

West Germany showed the popular attachment to detente. Kohl's first concern was to reassure the public that the Pershings would not change anything—relations with East Germany, where many West Germans have relatives, would go on as before.

Therefore Kohl jumped at the chance when Honecker proposed "in the name of the German people" to "limit the damage" in the face of a looming "ice age." But Kohl was visibly also trying to reassure his NATO allies and his own party's right wing that he was not going to make any concessions to Honecker. So he made it known that his talks with Honecker could center on environmental problems. Honecker was offended. After

usual exhortation of Communist slave states and paid a visit to Honecker, even negotiating a West German credit line of a billion marks. Strauss has been discreet ever since and joined in criticizing Kohl and his entourage for too much idle chatter and "dilettantism" in preparing the Honecker visit.

East Germany has a favorable trade balance with West Germany and does not need those credits. And there may be reason to be wary of Strauss bearing gifts when it is recalled how lavish Western bank credits led the Polish economy to collapse and brought down Gierek, much appreciated by Western leaders while he lasted.

Brandt said that to save the Honecker visit, Bonn would have had to give it political "substance," and that substance was arms control. Honecker wanted to promote a joint German-German initiative at the Stockholm conference for confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. A suitable subject would have been renunciation of chemical weapons.

In a September 12 Bundestag debate on the cancelled visit, Antje Vollmer of the Greens made an important speech calling for practical cooperation between the peoples of the two German states on the basis of "recognition of the realities." She said that when Soviet support to German-German *rapprochement* is thought to be flagging is exactly the time West Germans should have been sensitive to the need to avoid creating the painful impression that the GDR was selling out its principles for credits. Vollmer called the Honecker cancellation a "Waterloo" for Kohl's German policy, and said his government had gone into a spin when it perceived "the uneasiness of our Western allies" over growing German-German dialog.

Vollmer said that as in the postwar decade, the question was again arising of West Germany's role in the middle of Europe. Then, as always, there were two basic conservative positions: Germany as a firm part of the West or as a bridge between East and West. Konrad Adenauer, "as a man of the West, of big industry and anti-communism," for whom, she said, "Siberia began at the Elbe," chose a separate West Germany firmly attached to Western Europe. West German heavy

industry was sufficient to build a major economic power. Conservatives and liberals supported by some medium business and agrarian interests who wanted Germany as a decentralized, federated central European country lost out.

If German unity was really wanted, there might have been a chance then, she said. But besides Soviet and Western allied pressure, the division of Germany was the clear choice of Adenauer and German heavy industry. It was "one of the political masterpieces of the Adenauer era to have bound this fact of the conscious, deliberate, planned renunciation of German unity through one-sided Western integration and economic and military rearmament, to demands for reunification in the preamble to the basic law" (or Constitution) of the Federal Republic, she said.

The Green Party spokeswoman, who was born in 1943, said it had taken her and her generation a long time to get over the "lie of reunification." But they were realists, not Utopians, she said, and as realists they accepted the consequences of 40 years of German policy based on Western integration, just as they accepted the consequences of being the "sons and daughters of a nation bearing the main responsibility for causing two world wars." Just as the outcome of the Second World War culminated in the construction of the bloc system in the middle of Europe," she continued, "so the existence of two German states and two social systems on German soil is the result of the years when German policy was your responsibility. We bear these consequences with anger and also with sorrow."

Therefore, she said, we want to "recognize realities": the two states and the two citizenships, the border in the middle of the Elbe.

"After a time of developing socially in very opposite directions in the '70s," she said. "Germans in East and West have been forced to look for similar common solutions and prospects by the present extreme common threat through the superpowers' military potential and through the ecological destruction of the environment." The Greens were for *rapprochement* of people in the two social systems.

The day after his trip was cancelled, Honecker himself showed his receptiveness to such an approach by warmly welcoming the first visiting delegation of West German environmental activists led by Jo Leinen. A key figure in bringing together the environmental and peace movements, Greens and Social Democrats, Leinen said the East Germans were making interesting efforts in environmental protection and were ready to continue exchanges between environmentalists. Honecker's efforts at "damage limitation" in relations with West Germany seemed to be concentrating on contracts with what he called "sensible forces," mainly Social Democrats.

Unlike the SPD, Kohl has seemed to have no long-range policy toward the East. Initially he emphasized continuity with the detente policy initiated by Brandt. But in more and more articles and speeches, German conservatives have been reverting back to the old demand for reunification. There have also been speeches to organizations of *Vertriebene*, Germans driven out of territories taken over by Poland at the end of the war, suggesting revival of claims to old German territory East of the Oder-Niesse line. This has alarmed Poles, revival of the German threat indirectly strengthens Soviet influence in Poland.

This may be why Italy's Christian Democratic Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, aware of Vatican concerns, took a crack at "pan-Germanism" during a debate at the Italian Communist Party fair in Rome on September 12. "There are two German states and two German states must remain," Andreotti said flatly.

There was a flurry of protest from Bonn. But SPD Bundestag deputy floor leader Horst Ehmke said, "Andreotti has had the courage to say honestly and openly what our Western allies really think on the German question."

Next week: answers to "the German question."



Antje Vollmer of the West German Green Party

normalization of German-German relations: an agreement on the exact location of the Elbe River boundary, recognition of German Democratic Republic citizenship and the closing of the Salzgitter Institute that collects data on criminal activity in East Germany from West Germany. The last two issues are particularly controversial, as they involve the Federal Republic of Germany's claim to be the only permanent, legal German state. But why not at least talk about the Elbe boundary?

all, competent authorities existed at a lower level to deal with environmental problems.

If Kohl's refusal to discuss political issues reassured his own allies, it could only get Honecker into trouble with his. To justify this trip to Soviet leaders, Honecker needed to show that it was politically useful, either to gain recognition for the GDR or to promote peace and disarmament.

Last year Bavarian leader Franz-Josef Strauss did a sudden about-face from his

YUGOSLAVIA

The creeping trend to re-Balkanization

By Diana Johnstone

BELGRADE

LAST APRIL 27, A 33-YEAR-OLD Yugoslav work safety technician named Radomir Radovic was found dead by his aunt. She called the police, who took the body and kept it. The family lawyer was not allowed at the autopsy. A month later, Serbian officials declared that Radovic had committed suicide by an overdose of barbiturates. This was vigorously contested by his aunt. He had a combative temperament, she said, and was not at all the suicidal type. Besides, when she found his body in a sleeping bag, she had noticed injuries on his face.

Radovic had publicly displayed his combative temperament. In 1982, he wrote an open letter to the Yugoslav trade union congress asking for the creation of an independent trade union organization that would investigate mismanagement by political functionaries. He also called for abolition of bureaucratic privileges. And on April 20, just one week before his death, he was the only worker in a batch of 27 intellectuals who were hauled off to jail when police raided a private seminar where Milovan Djilas was speaking.

Several of those arrested at the Djilas talk subsequently filed complaints that they had been beaten by police. This was why Radovic's death aroused suspicion. A petition asking further clarification was first reported in the foreign press. A second official announcement saying Radovic died of a dose of pesticide did nothing to allay suspicion. For the first time in Yugoslavia's recent history, circumstances seemed to point to a possible political murder.

Events in Poland are believed to have given an awful scare to some Yugoslav bureaucrats. Radovic the rebel worker demanding independent union rights, criticizing bureaucrats and mixing with dissident intellectuals may have looked to some over-zealous guardians of the established order like the germ of a Yugoslav Solidarity.

Official nervousness may stem from the fact that Yugoslavia, like Poland a few years ago, is sinking into foreign debt and economic stagnation. Everyone is complaining about faulty investment and mismanagement. Many foreign observers are predicting that Yugoslavia will be "the next place to explode."

But Yugoslavia, for better and for worse, is not Poland.

For better, first of all. When a Yugoslav says, gloomily, "We're getting to be more and more like Eastern Europe," that just shows that Yugoslavs no more consider themselves a part of Eastern Europe than do Austrians or Greeks.

By contemporary standards, Yugoslavia is, outwardly and inwardly, a free country. Belgrade does not take orders from Moscow. And Yugoslavs enjoy a freedom of speech and movement, a feeling of freedom, that is far superior to most of the world today. Unlike Poland, Yugoslav farming is prosperous. Until not so long ago, the economy was booming and workers enjoy unique "self-management" rights at the workplace.

And for worse. While Poland is held together by strong national feeling and Catholicism, Yugoslavia is divided between six federated republics and two autonomous regions, Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism and Islam, and so many languages that none is official. While the explosion in Poland took the form of a movement of national unity, social explosions in Yugoslavia are like-

lier to jeopardize national unity. An ominous example is the recent trouble between ethnic Albanians and Serbs in the autonomous region of Kosovo.

The subject of the April 20 discussion that got everybody arrested was precisely the national question. Milovan Djilas had been invited to recount how the Communist Party solved the national question before World War II. Contrary to some reports, the meeting was neither "clandestine" nor "illegal," since there is no law against private meetings in Yugoslavia. The Djilas talk was organized in the framework of what Yugoslav intellectuals (like the Poles) call the "flying university"—seminars on important current topics outside any official academic structure.

The Praxis Group.

The "flying university" idea in Yugoslavia goes back to 1977, two years after eight Belgrade philosophy professors belonging to the internationally known Praxis group had been suspended from their University jobs by a special act of the Serbian parliament after their own self-managed faculty, backed by the students, had stubbornly resisted official pressure to get rid of them. The Praxis group, Marxists whose offense has been to take Yugoslav self-management socialism seriously and suggest ways to make it work, were made the scapegoats for the militant student movement that overwhelmed Belgrade University in that extraordinary year 1968. The Praxis philosophers had nothing to do with the April 20 meeting, but some former student leaders were there.

Djilas, who is protected by his strong

Yugoslavia is especially vulnerable to the destructive effects of the worldwide decline of universal ideals and resurgence of ethnic and religious particularisms. Thus it is necessary to keep alive the ideal of self-management socialism to hold the country together and to prevent re-Balkanization.

foreign support, was released immediately after the April 20 police raid. "Djilas is safe," a prominent intellectual explained, "but anyone who comes close to him is very unsafe." Despite his big reputation abroad, Djilas is largely discredited at home, partly because he is remembered as one of the most fanatic Stalinists and ruthless partisan leaders before quarreling with Tito and denouncing the party as a "new class."

In June, six intellectuals, none of them well known, were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activities. Most of them had attended the Djilas lecture, but those who had not—sociologists Vladimir Mijanovic and Milan Nikolic—were both prominent in the 1968 student movement and had just recently been active in pushing for an inquiry into Radovic's death. Nikolic and another defendant, translator Pavluska Imsirovic, had been sent to prison for two years in 1972 for alleged Trotskyist activities. Mijanovic had paid for his leading role in the student movement by two trips to jail after 1969 for allegedly making jokes about Tito. All three are now in their mid-30s.

The other defendants are Miodrag Milic, 55, a freelance writer who has focused on mistakes in the Partisan war, Drago-

mir Olujic, 35, a Radio Belgrade research assistant, and Gordan Jovanovic, 23, a student. The indictment claims that the six created a counterrevolutionary political organization aimed at overthrowing the existing social order. But people who know them say that the six people charged never met together and are in no way a "group." The charges seem so far-fetched and excessive that there is some apprehension over what tricks the prosecution may be planning to use.

The Praxis professors, ever loyal to their students, can be counted on to protest strongly. If convicted, the defendants would immediately begin serving five to 15 years in prison. The case of the six thus seems bound to provoke a direct confrontation between liberal reform intellectuals and conservative authorities in Serbia, the largest of Yugoslavia's federated republics with its capital in Belgrade.

"There is no national power base in Yugoslavia today," says Svetozar Stojanovic.



Diana Johnstone

Partisan resistance to the Nazis and later the defiance of Stalin. Four years after Tito's death, the danger menacing Yugoslavia is a sort of creeping re-Balkanization.

Local ethnic interests are reasserting themselves, but that is not all that is meant by "Balkanization." The danger is that these rival local interests may become involved in the rivalries of outside powers. This is how the Balkans in the past were a powder keg of world war.

Western multinationals have penetrated Yugoslavia and today may be better coordinated in the country than anything else. As in other indebted countries, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has moved in and started giving orders. Today the only visible coherent economic policy is the severe austerity program being pushed by the IMF. Taking orders from the IMF is offensive to Yugoslavs' strong sense of national independence and self-respect. Moreover, the country already has one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe, and following IMF dictates could mean social disaster.

While investments and credits come mostly from the West, the bulk of Yugoslavia's trade is with the East. The country has grown increasingly dependent on Soviet oil imports since the Iran-Iraq war blocked anticipated oil imports from Iraq, which has failed to pay for important Yugoslav construction work there.

The extreme decentralization seems to have succeeded in silencing Croatia nationalism, which fed on complaints that relatively rich Croatia was being exploited to develop backward southern republics like Macedonia. On the other hand, the decentralization tends to feed unrest in the poorer regions since, left to their own devices, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Thus Slovenia has a high thoroughly European living standard and no unemployment, whereas Kosovo, the poorest region, has close to 20 percent unemployment and is rapidly sinking into

Continued on following page

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despair.

Yugoslavia is especially vulnerable to the destructive effects of the worldwide current decline of universal ideals and resurgence of ethnic and religious particularisms. In the '50s and '60s, this young and vigorous nation found original unifying ideals in a foreign policy of non-alignment and a domestic system of self management. Non-alignment has lost much of its charms as Third World countries look to the Yugoslavs less and less like noble causes and more and more like bad credit risks. The Kosovo problem is potentially most demoralizing because it is precisely the Serbs, who have historically made the greatest efforts to sacrifice ethnic self-interest for the Yugoslav ideal, who find themselves accused of racism by the poverty-stricken Albanian population.

The Serb-Albanian antagonism in Kosovo risks degenerating into the all too familiar pattern of conflict between a culturally and economically "European" population and a largely illiterate but demographically rapidly growing Moslem population. Kosovo could prove damaging to traditional Serbian attachment to progressive ideals.

Trend to re-Balkanization.

Keeping alive the ideal of self-management socialism thus seems necessary to hold the country together and prevent re-Balkanization. But for over a decade, the trend has been in the other direction.

People in the Praxis group recall that there was real enthusiasm among Yugoslav Communists when the 1958 party congress agreed on a program of self-management socialism that actually looked toward the withering away of the state and even the party. For several years the party was only an educational organization. But in 1972, Tito began to restore the party's governing role. Workers self-management was limited by hundreds of new laws and by coordinating committees with community representatives that the party can control. The system has be-

come so complicated that when workers have a problem, they go on strike rather than try to bring it up in the self-management process.

At a round table in Belgrade last March 29, Praxis philosopher Svetozar Stojanovic made a proposal for democratization of the party (called the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, LCY) that could foster democratic reform socialism. Stojanovic does not call for a multi-party system for three reasons: the ruling party would never allow it, and he wants to make a realistic proposal that has some chance of being adopted; political pluralism in Yugoslavia would invite rapid re-Balkanization.

Thus Stojanovic calls for democratization of the LCY and the creation of a broader League of Socialists in which the LCY could present policy options for free debate. Such reforms could revitalize the unifying ideal of democratic socialism and also make it possible to bring practical problems out in the open for debate and democratic decision-making.

But entrenched bureaucrats count on the party to protect their interests, especially when economic austerity is beginning to make some feel the pinch more than others. Last May a new presidium (joint revolving presidency) was chosen for the next five years representing the six republics and the two autonomous regions. All but two are hard-line conservatives.

In this complicated context, the prosecution of the six Belgrade intellectuals can be seen as a result of pressure from the most conservative parties, such as in Bosnia and Croatia, to get Serbia to isolate and discredit its liberal reformers.

But this could backfire because the Yugoslav bureaucracy, whatever its faults, is not larded with the sort of dogmatic Stalinists that inhabit Eastern European offices. Neither is Communism totally discredited as in Eastern Europe. But since Tito's death, there has been an accelerating reappraisal of the nation's founding myths. Books of history and novels have appeared showing errors and even crimes committed by the Commun-

ist Party and the Partisans under Tito's leadership. Two years ago, Tito's official biographer Vladimir Dedijer published a fat volume of new contributions to the historical biography of Tito helping to desanctify his hero.

Could Yugoslavia "explode"? "It's always dangerous when you say the worse things get, the better," cautions Mihailo Markovic, who fears that "an explosion could only bring to power the most authoritarian elements of the security police and the army." There is no nationally based mass movement such as Polish Solidarity that could offer a democratic alternative.

Some of the worst hardliners could even be hoping to provoke a confrontation in order to crack down. Among the six people on trial, none are well known and a couple have been branded as "Trotskyists"—a label that can satisfy Moscow and at the same time diminish Western interest in their fate.

The Praxis philosophers continue to see their task as coming up with constructive democratic alternatives. "When in a social crisis the exit to the left is closed off, then there will be with complete certainty a movement to the right," Stojanovic has said. Despite years of official ingratitude, he and others of the Praxis group continue to point to the left exit. ■

Abortion

Continued from page 7

ly regards it as a kind of murder that can be weighed on a scale with other evils. It is not comparable to homicide or slavery in its moral implications.

Fortunately, Cuomo's motive in speaking out was not simply to resolve the theological dispute, but to prevent the Reagan campaign from using the abortion issue to peel Catholic votes away from the Democrats in November. Catholics make up 30 percent or more of the electorate in Pennsylvania, New York, Wisconsin, Rhode Island and Massachu-

setts and are a significant voting bloc in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Maryland and New Jersey.

Reagan's approach to the Catholic vote has been selective. He has relied on his economic and foreign policy record to win the votes of affluent Catholics, many of whom have veered toward the Republicans in the last decade. At the same time, he has pursued a strident approach to middle- and working-class Catholic voters by championing tuition tax credits for schools and a ban on abortion.

As Kristen Luker shows in her study of abortion politics, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, the "average pro-life woman" marries young, has three or more children, does not have an outside job, is married to a white-collar worker or a small businessman and is a devout Catholic. Unlike her pro-choice counterpart, she is a single-issue voter.

Reagan can assume that by speaking out against abortion he will not lose that much support among pro-choice voters who will base their vote on other grounds, but that he will be able to attract these erstwhile Democratic Catholics.

According to an NBC news report, Reagan campaign aides have tried to enlist the Bishops' support against Ferraro and other Catholic Democrats. If the campaign can get Archbishop O'Connor or Philadelphia's John Cardinal Krol to take the field against Ferraro—and, by extension, Mondale—then it will accomplish what it set out to do among Catholic Democrats without risking votes among the socially liberal young.

Cuomo understood the Reagan strategy and his intervention may have prevented both a larger rush to Reagan by the Bishops and an even more strident assault on Ferraro and other Democratic candidates. Cuomo succeeded because he accepted the theology of abortion.

By adhering to the Church's position, Cuomo perpetuated, rather than resolved, the abortion dilemma. In this respect, the present political climate—with the premium it places on religiosity—is not conducive to the successful resolution of policy questions. ■



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By Dilip Hiro

L O N D O N

THE FOUR-YEAR-OLD GULF WAR has reached a point where it is being described in superlatives. It is the longest armed conflict in the region and the bloodiest. It has claimed 500,000 Iranian casualties, and half as many Iraqis. Some 170,000 Iranians and 80,000 Iraqis have lost their lives, and Iran estimates its war losses at \$135 billion. As a result, the Gulf region has experienced an odd shift in the balance of international forces. Both superpowers are now siding with Iraq.

The Reagan administration has moved so far to the Iraqi side that it has prepared contingency plans to bomb Iranian airfields and troops concentrations if the Islamic Republic's forces break through Iraqi defenses and advance toward Basra or Baghdad. The U.S. stance springs from intense hostility toward Iran and its anti-U.S. policies, and from its close links with the conservative Arab Gulf states, Jordan and Egypt, all of which are siding with Iraq. Thus the U.S. and its Arab allies are now aiding a regime in Baghdad that receives most of its weapons from Moscow.

Moscow's treaty with Baghdad was signed in April 1972, but its Friendship Treaty with Teheran dates back to February 1921. Treaty articles five and six entitle the USSR to send its troops into Iran if the Iranian government fails to prohibit the formation of anti-Soviet forces in its territory, or if a third party carries out "a policy of usurpation by means of armed intervention in Iran."

Following the revolution the Iranian regime unilaterally cancelled these articles. But since Moscow refused to recognize the annulment, these treaty articles—along with several others—remain valid. So armed U.S. intervention in the Gulf war would entitle the USSR to move its troops into Iran—which clearly is a major deterrent to any American impulse to "bash up" Iran.

The Shah's overthrow in early 1979 heralded a new chapter in Soviet-Iranian links. Relations between the two neighbors improved dramatically against the background of the American hostage crisis. But this trend ended when the Soviets intervened militarily in Afghanistan.

When Iraq attacked Iran on Sept. 22, 1980, Moscow immediately assured Iran of its neutrality. This enabled Iran to move its troops from the north to the south. The Soviets believed that Iraq had been encouraged by the U.S. and its Gulf Arab allies to invade Iran. To help end the war quickly, the USSR stopped supplying weapons and spare parts to Iraq. Since 85 percent of Iraqi arms were Soviet-made, this hurt Iraq. Moscow offered to sell weapons to Teheran, but the latter declined.

Yet subsequent developments led the Soviets to change their policy. The turning point came in mid-July 1982, when Iran invaded Iraq and occupied Iraqi territory. Moscow reassessed its position in the context of its Friendship Treaty with Baghdad. Moscow decided to honor its pre-war contracts with Iraq, which included advanced tanks and combat aircraft—but it did so secretly. It was not until late September 1982 that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq publicly confirmed that the Soviets had resumed arms shipments.

While Iran repeatedly spurned offers of negotiated peace, Moscow signed fresh contracts with Baghdad for military supplies, including long-range Scud-B ground-to-ground missiles. It sold these weapons to Baghdad for cash in hard currencies often paid by Iraq's Arab allies. Thus the Soviet Union is no longer neutral. It now actively supports Iraq. There is, however, a certain consistency in its policy: it opposes whoever commits aggression.

The U.S. also has been consistent in its stand. It has been against Iran all along, the only change being the degree of its opposition. Through its Arab allies it encouraged Iraq to attack Iran for two reasons. It believed that a war would drive

IRAN-IRAQ

War is deadlocked after four years

Teheran to secure ammunition and parts from the Pentagon for its American-made arms, even if it meant having to release the American hostages. Second, the Pentagon reckoned that hostilities in the region would lead the Saudi regime to greater military cooperation with the U.S. and enable it to build a firmer infrastructure for the deployment of the Rapid Deployment Force. The first assumption proved wrong, but the second did not.

Within three weeks of the war, four AWACS (airborne warning and control systems) planes of the U.S. Air Force began to cruise the Gulf around the clock, monitoring the combatants' troop movements and Iran's oil terminal at Kharg Island. Since then the Pentagon has made steady progress toward its aim of integrating the air defense systems of the Gulf states under the umbrella of U.S. AWACS. The first step was taken in early 1981, when each of the major airbases in eastern Saudi Arabia was provided with enough ammunition and service facilities to equip 70 F-15 Air Force fighter planes.

When Iran attacked Iraq in July 1982, the Reagan administration offered to hold joint military exercises with non-combatant friendly nations in the Gulf. Iran's success in blunting the Iranian offensive pleased Washington. The subsequent stalemate suited the larger interests of the U.S.: two unlikable regimes were battering each other, and in the process dividing the Arab world and diverting its energies from resolving the Palestinian problem.

In early 1983 the U.S. administration started aiding Iraq both financially and diplomatically. It gave Iraq \$460 million in credit for the purchase of American foodgrains. This, in turn, encouraged wavering European and Arab financial institutions to lend funds to Iraq, which

was facing an economic crisis. The Reagan administration then encouraged American banks and companies to pursue construction of oil pipelines from Iraq to the Gulf of Aqba and the Red Sea through Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In May 1984 Iraq awarded the \$1,000 million contract for a pipeline from its oil fields to Aqba, Jordan, to an American company named Lifebelt.

The Reagan administration's hostility toward Teheran sharpened when it held Iran responsible for last year's suicide attack on U.S. Marines in Beirut that caused 259 deaths. American policymakers concluded that there were only two outcomes of the Gulf War: Iranian victory or continued stalemate. An Iranian victory would lead to the collapse of monarchies in the Gulf and Jordan. Though the subsequent Islamic republics in Iraq and elsewhere in the region were not expected to side with the USSR, the fall of a group of pro-Western monarchies in a region that contains 54 percent of the world's known oil reserves was seen as an unprecedented catastrophe.

In November 1983 the U.S. national security advisor issued a secret directive outlining the diplomatic and military steps that the U.S. should take to aid Iraq. The Pentagon prepared contingency plans to assist Iraq if it, or Saudi Arabia, requested the U.S. to "stabilize the Iraqi border."

A delegation of U.S. state and defense departments informed the Gulf monarchs in December 1983 that Washington regarded Iraq's defeat "contrary to U.S. interests." The intent was to reassure Iraq and dissuade Iran from mounting its

Iraq has one million soldiers compared to Iran's two million, but Iraq has 2,600 tanks compared to Iran's 800, and 3,000 carriers to Iran's 800.



anticipated offensive against Iraq. But Iran launched its assault in February 1984, capturing the oil-rich Majnoon Islands. Fearing the collapse of the Iraqi regime, the U.S. ordered its naval force in the Arabian Sea to sail up the Gulf. On February 23, a high-ranking administration official told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that the Reagan administration was prepared to send ground troops to the Gulf. To the relief of Washington (and Moscow), the Iranian forces failed to reach the strategic Basra-Baghdad highway.

This past spring, as Iran prepared to mount its much-publicized "final offensive" against the Iraqi regime, Iraq decided to impose an "air siege" of the Kharg oil terminal to curtail Iran's oil income. The Pentagon saw fresh opportunities for integrating the air defense systems of the Gulf states under an American umbrella. The U.S. assistant secretary of state and the head of the National Security Council's Crisis Pre-planning Group toured the Gulf states in April informing the rulers that if they wanted the U.S. to intervene in the war against Iran, they would have to invite the U.S. publicly.

When Iraq escalated the tanker war in May, affecting among others Saudi and Kuwaiti, Riyadh and Kuwait refrained from calling on the U.S. to intervene. Saudi Arabia settled for securing a super-AWAC plane (capable of monitoring both air and sea traffics), 400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and U.S. escorts for its oil tankers. Iraq's overall purpose in escalating the tanker war was to internationalize the conflict, drawing in the superpowers and/or compelling Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to become combatants in the war on its side. Iraq failed to achieve either objective.

The superpowers reached a limited understanding that the Gulf would remain a free international waterway. Washington assured Moscow that it would not go beyond supplying defense equipment to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and escorting their oil tankers. Moscow cautioned Washington against any attempt to use the current crisis to impose a pro-Western regime in Teheran.

This tactical understanding should not obscure the basic conflict that exists between the strategic interests of the superpowers in the region. Washington is determined to keep the Soviets out of Iran at any cost. That is why the Reagan administration decided to form five light infantry divisions for use inside Iran against any Soviet intrusion. As the columnist Jack Anderson revealed in March 1983, the Pentagon has devised emergency plans for the use of nuclear weapons if it was faced with a Soviet takeover of Iran.

Thanks to the generosity of its Arab allies and the political backing of Moscow and Paris, Iraq has overcome its economic crisis and is also very well armed. A nation of 14 million, Iraq has one million people in uniform. The three times more populous Iran has two million men under arms. According to a recent U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee report, Iraq has 2,600 tanks compared to Iran's 1,040; 3,000 armored personnel carriers to Iran's 800; and more than 400 airworthy combat aircraft to Iran's 90. But Iran has more artillery pieces than Iraq—1,200 to 800—and also has more naval vessels, 55 to 35.

Iraq's overwhelming superiority in tanks and aircraft was one factor that led the Iranian leadership to reconsider their earlier decision to mount a "final assault" against Iraq. Other factors were the creation by the Iraqis of an artificial lake along the border in the south and a four-tier defensive system that they have set up: minefields, barbed wire, anti-tank trenches and heavy artillery pieces on high ground.

Iranian leaders decided to give diplomacy a chance. This meant trying to convince Saudi and Kuwaiti rulers that only by ousting President Saddam Hussein from power can Iran, Iraq and other Gulf states live in peace. But since Iranian success in this field is unlikely, the chances of a negotiated end to the war are slim.

Dilip Hiro is the author of *Inside the Middle East*, published by McGraw-Hill.

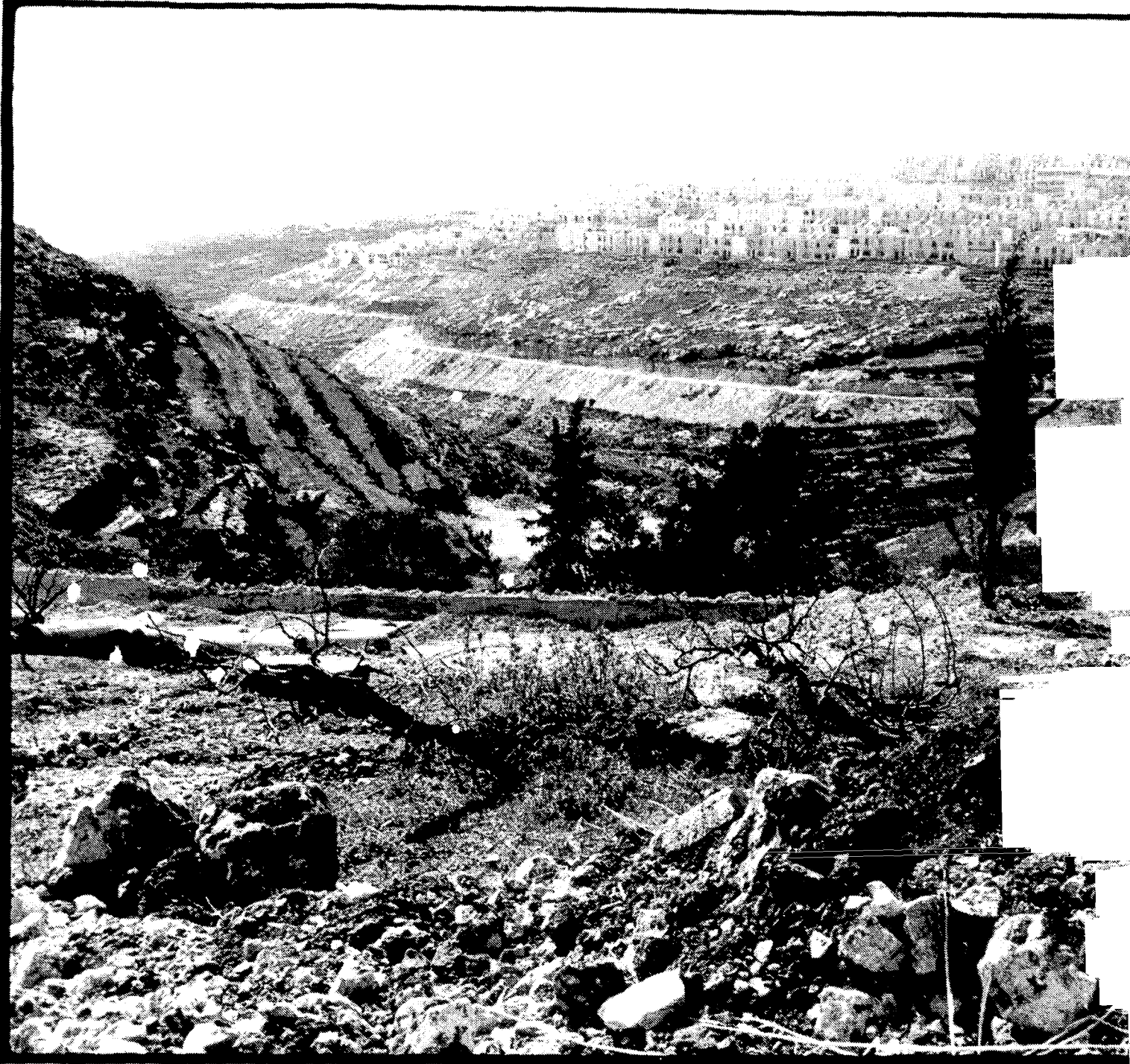
By Steve Askin

IT IS A SUNNY MID-MAY AFTERNOON. Uprooted fig and olive trees, their spindly roots gently waving in the breeze, litter the hillside I am standing on, a few miles north of Jerusalem. An Israeli construction crew dug up this orchard two weeks ago, then bulldozed half the adjoining wheatfield. The remaining grain is almost ready for harvest.

Abdullah Saloman's farm died to make way for Giv'at Ze'ev, a planned community for 2,500 Jewish families whose hilltop apartments will tower high above the surrounding Arab farms and villages. The community is named in honor of Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky, founder of revisionist Zionism, the movement from which Israel's ruling Likud Party arose.

Jabotinsky's followers have, of course, entered into an uneasy coalition with the heirs to the once vibrant socialist-Zionist tradition of the Labor alignment, but bulldozers will continue to aggressively reshape Israel's future. The new government may slow, but will not halt, the displacement of West Bank Palestinians, a process that began under Labor Party rule, accelerated under Likud and makes the prospects for a peaceful resolution of the 36-year-old Israel-Arab conflict grow dimmer every day.

Likud supports full and permanent incorporation of the occupied territories into Israel. Though the Labor Party supports a "territorial compromise" in the occupied territories, it is a compromise acceptable to no Arab governments and few, if any,



Palestinians. In the past, the dominant position within a divided Labor alignment would have permitted in exchange for a broad peace agreement, return of about 60 percent of the West Bank to the rule of Jordan. To most Palestinians, this stance is doubly unacceptable: first, because it would legitimize Israeli control and Palestinian dispossession on large expanses of West Bank territory; second, it would transfer the rest of West Bank to the control of a Jordanian government known for its harsh and sometimes brutal opposition to Palestinian nationalism.

The guidelines of the new coalition bar even the limited territorial compromise formerly backed by Labor. Using the bib-

lical names for the West Bank preferred by expansionist Israelis, the agreement specifies that "there will be no change in the sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district" without consent from both parties.

From a distance, Labor appears the party of peace. And its more conciliatory leaders probably would be—if not hamstrung by more conservative coalition partners—more likely to take the bold initiatives needed to reach a peace agreement with their Palestinian adversaries. But, as I discovered on a visit to Israel and the occupied territories shortly before the July elections, few Palestinians believe that Labor rule can make a difference. To understand why, one must visit those who have been the victims—under Labor as well as Likud—of Israeli policies designed to drive large numbers of Palestinians from the land that once supported their families.

Reshaping Jerusalem.

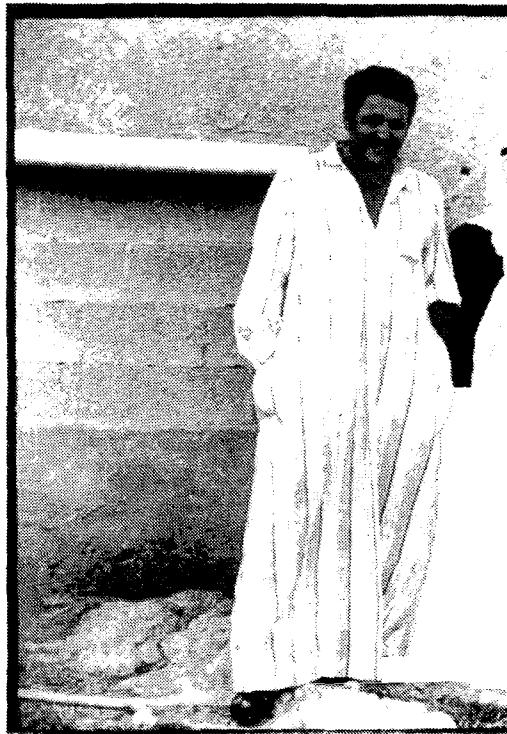
Grainfields crushed by bulldozers, ancient fruit trees ripped from the ground and tiny villages cut in half by modern highways mark the intersections between Palestinian village life and an expanding ring of densely populated Jerusalem suburbs.

I toured these new settlements with an odd pair of guides: a U.S.-trained Palestinian economist and a journalist who immigrated to Israel from the U.S.

From our first stop at Giv'at Ze'ev, it was a short but roundabout trip to the Arab village below, Al Jib. Short because the new settlement sits partly on land taken from Al Jib. Roundabout because the village has been cut in half—the old road joining the Arab settlements severed—by the new blacktop highway built across Palestinian farms to speed Giv'at Ze'ev commuters into downtown Jerusalem.

Winding down into the village, we spotted a pile of rubble between two houses. A mangled refrigerator was visible among the broken building stones of the house where 20-year-old Tahsir Sha'alan lived with his mother and three siblings. The Israeli army bulldozers struck after Sha'alan was arrested as a suspect in

Dispossessed Pa no change in so despite Labor-led



Mousa Mohammed Salomeh and his family

the killing of a Jewish settler in Hebron, south of Jerusalem. Under occupation rules, Israeli authorities routinely use bulldozers to punish suspected Arab terrorists—people charged with crimes ranging from stonethrowing to murder—before they are tried. (Jews are not subject to this punishment, so bulldozers have not moved against the homes of 27 people arrested as suspected members of an anti-Arab terrorist underground that bombed five Arab buses, used carbombs to cripple two West Bank Palestinian mayors and killed three people in a grenade and machine-gun attack against an Islamic college.)

Imposing though it is, Giv'at Ze'ev is tiny compared with other settlements around Jerusalem. The largest is Gilo, a still-growing maze of apartment buildings towering over the ancient town of

A survey of Israel's policies

The Benvenisti report, released in the U.S. last spring as *West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel's Policies*, details the methods used by Israeli authorities to gain control over West Bank land.

The techniques have evolved over the years. In 1967, the military government took possession of 750,000 dunams (4 dunams equal one acre) of formally registered Jordanian "state land." Portions of this territory provided space for some Jewish settlements.

In addition, Jewish settlers were given land seized "for essential and urgent military need," under military declarations that said, "All Israeli settlements in the administered territories are an integral part of the Territorial Defense."

After 1977, the Begin government's "new policy of massive settlement and the building of urban centers in all parts of the West Bank required more ambitious methods of land acquisitions," Benvenisti says. To get that land, the government took advantage of the fact that the ownership of two-thirds of West Bank land has never been formally registered before the occupation began. (Jordan started a registration project when it controlled the West Bank.

After 1967, the Israelis halted all further registration of untitled land.)

Israel declared that untitled land is state property, unless the person who claims ownership can prove that he actually cultivated it. This new definition placed 40 percent of the West Bank's area under Israeli control, says Benvenisti, and enabled "Israeli authorities to claim self-righteously that no Arab land had been taken."

In fact, Israel embraced the feudal law of conquest under which "conquerors in the Middle Ages regarded themselves as the owners of all lands that came under their control," Benvenisti says.

To further secure Israeli dominion, military authorities issued new rules banning planting of fruit trees and cultivation of vegetables without a permit. On lands earmarked for future designation as state property, "Israeli settler 'patrols' seize sheep and arrest farmers."

Settlers routinely take the law into their own hands and "the quasi-independence of ideologically motivated armed settlers, serving part time under their own commanders, has led to various vigilante activities, including the smashing of cars and harassment of the Arab population."

(In the U.S., the Benvenisti study can be obtained from the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.) —S.A.

ISRAEL'S BULLDOZER

VIOLATING THE BIBLE

creases his lips as Salomeh unrolls a 1975 Israeli survey map on which his long-gone fruit trees are clearly marked. Speaking sometimes in Arabic, sometimes in Hebrew, he tells the story of his family, twice displaced.

Until 1948, they lived on a 100 dunam (25 acre) farm in the El-Maliha, a village of 7,000 people on the edge of Jerusalem. They fled, "afraid that we too would be killed," after the April 1948 massacre at Deir Yasin in which 254 Arab civilians were killed by Zionist fighters of the Irgun Zvei Leumi. The family took refuge in a cave near the village of Beit Jala, where they bought and obtained clear title to seven dunums of land. Here they rebuilt. After the 1967 war, they found themselves again in territory controlled by Israel.

Gilo grew onto their land in 1978. Without warning, construction crews appeared one day to uproot the grape and olive trees. As the destruction began, Salomeh approached a foreman and asked, in his best Hebrew, "What are you doing?"

"We have to get this Arab family out of here," the construction boss responded. "It's going to be difficult, because these Arabs cover themselves in dirt, and they'll gladly live in dirt."

Later, Salomeh was told that the land had actually been expropriated eight years earlier under an August 1970 order. (Ibrihim Matir, the Palestinian economist, reports that four Jewish settlements have been built on the 14,000 dunums covered by the 1970 order. Palestinians learn their land was expropriated only when the bulldozers appear.)

Viewed from the Palestinian villages beneath them, developments like Gilo are the symbols and substance of dispossession: stone-walled fortresses, standing on expropriated Arab land. For Israelis who work in the city, they are merely bargain housing: low cost, government-subsidized condominiums 10 or 20 minutes from downtown.

This planned suburban sprawl is the hidden face of Israel's West Bank land takeover, hidden even from many Israelis. Gilo residents are "not like the Gush Emunim—it's part of Jerusalem and even Peace Now people would live there," insisted an Israeli acquaintance who became annoyed when I referred to Gilo as a settlement built on occupied territory.

The building of this Greater Jerusalem began under a Labor government shortly after Israel captured the West Bank from Jordan in the 1967 war. Israel formally annexed Arab East Jerusalem and extended the city limits to include land and a half dozen West Bank villages stretching almost from Bethlehem on the south to Ramallah in the north. Then they began a fast-paced construction drive.

The goal was to "build large neighborhoods around the city and thus to 'make it indivisible,'" according to a study by urban planner and former Jerusalem Deputy Mayor Meron Benvenisti. Benvenisti, who also served as Israel's administrator for Arab East Jerusalem, is now a dovish critic of Israeli settlement policies. He says the *de facto* annexation process is now well advanced in the rest of the territory occupied by Israel in 1967, including West Bank villages like Al Jib, which lies outside Jerusalem's expanded city limits.

Initially under Labor, but with new harshness since Likud came to power, Israel has evolved a dual legal and political system for the occupied territories, according to Benvenisti.

An estimated 30,000 to 40,000 Jewish settlers are governed by Israeli law and receive all the benefits of the Israeli welfare state. West Bank Palestinians, more than 700,000 of them, are denied the economic and civil rights protections of Israeli law.

These Palestinians live under a military administration that enforces a confusing mix of Jordanian laws, 40-year-old British Mandate emergency regulations and

more than 1,000 occupation edicts. Similar rules apply to nearly 500,000 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, a densely packed 10 by 40-mile sliver of Mediterranean coastal land that was captured from Israel.

Militant settlers.

West Bank settlers are "the most realistic of all Israelis," insists soft-spoken Shifra Blass, a spokeswoman for the Council of Jewish Settlements. "You will find that there are those who identify themselves as liberals who don't want to live with Arabs, while we are living among the Arabs," she explained last May, when I visited her at Ofra, a 700-person Gush Emunim (bloc of the faithful) settlement. Her home, though only about 10 miles northeast of Giv'at Ze'ev, presents a very different aspect of Israeli West Bank settlement. Instead of urban relaxation for commuters, it offers a militarized enclave of the spiritually committed. As in all such enclaves, the men are reserve or active duty soldiers authorized to carry and use their weapons.

For Blass, the only legitimate claim to this land is set forth in the Bible. She therefore rejects the term "occupied territory" and speaks instead of the Jewish land of Judea and Samaria that Israel "rescued from domination" by Arabs.

Relations with surrounding communities are tense. Ofra's nearest neighbors are Palestinian villagers who say the settlers stole their land. According to Matir, the settlers seized 350 of the settlement's 400 dunams of land, and at least 400 fig trees. Ofra's site was vacant government land on which the Jordanians had started building a military base before 1967, says Blass, who insists that "the religious ethic of Gush Emunim is to only settle land that is not cultivated."

Like Mousa Mohammed Salomeh, Blass speaks passionately of her attachment to this land and bitterly of past terror. The 1929 riots in which Arabs killed

Continued on page 22

In Rama, one Arab patiently waits to return to his homeland

Nazih Kassis, a gentle 40-year-old English teacher of almost inexhaustible patience, still yearns for the day when he will receive equal justice as an Israeli citizen. He lives in the Upper Galilee village of Rama, a three-hour drive north of Jerusalem.

Kassis and his family are professional people, doctors, nurses and teachers who attended Israel's best colleges. The colleague who suggested that I visit Kassis said that he can give the positive view on Arab life in the Jewish state. When I mention this, he responds with quiet annoyance: "If you want the positive side maybe you need to speak to someone else. I can only tell you what has happened to the Arab Christians who live here in Rama village."

We live comfortably here, says Kassis, a Hebrew University graduate. But Rama is a place of exile.

When Kassis tells me that he was born in Ikrit, I immediately understand his bitterness. The Ikrit and Berem protests were Israel's closest counterpart to the freedom rides or lunch-counter sit-

ins of the American South—non-violent pleas for simple justice. Here there is one big difference: peaceful protest failed utterly.

The Ikrit and Berem story is a familiar one to most Israelis. It has been told to me repeatedly, sadly by Israeli Jews, angrily by Palestinians. It begins in 1948 during the Israeli War of Independence. Israeli soldiers entering the two villages near the Lebanese border were welcomed with traditional gifts of bread and salt. In November, the villagers were evacuated "for two weeks" to temporary quarters in Rama. They were never allowed to return.

For 20 years, the villagers quietly petitioned to return to their land. In 1972, a new Greek Catholic archbishop—an American who had been in Birmingham, Ala., during Martin Luther King's bus boycott—brought the lessons of the U.S. civil rights movement to Galilee.

New protests attracted worldwide attention. Archbishop John Raya led a hunger strike. He and the villagers were arrested trying to worship at the old

church. Thousands of Jewish supporters, some from the kibbutz, joined a Jerusalem protest march. A group of prominent Israeli writers met for seven hours with Prime Minister Golda Meir.

Meir reportedly told the writers that giving back Ikrit and Berem could spark far broader demands from Arabs who want to return to their pre-1948 homes and could undermine Israeli faith in the justness of Zionism. "What begins at Ikrit and Berem, Mrs. Meir is said to fear, might end in Tel Aviv, Jaffa or even, as another high government official put it, 'It might end with us in the sea,'" Israeli journalist Amos Elon explained in the *New York Times Magazine*.

The villagers still renew their appeals at propitious moments: when new governments came to power and during the Israel-Egypt peace talks. They will now try again with the new government, Kassis said. But they will do so without much hope. Meir was a Labor Party leader, and she rejected them.

I asked Kassis, several times in several different ways, why the villagers neither give up nor turn violent. He offers no explanation beyond this: "It is our nature. We cannot give up our rights, and this is our only way of expression."

—S.A.



Steve Askin



Steve Askin

Bethlehem on Jerusalem's southern edge and planned to house 48,000 people. A few stubborn Arab families cling precariously to tiny scraps of land in the shadow of Gilo's staggered rows of long white apartment buildings.

Mousa Mohammed Salomeh and his family are among those survivors. Their 600 grape vines and olive trees were destroyed to build a Gilo parking lot. Their three connected houses are perched on a narrow ledge between that parking lot and a new apartment building open only to Jewish settlers. About three dozen people live in this four generation extended family compound. An idled bulldozer and its tracks in newly turned earth are an ominous presence just behind the houses.

Seated in the simply decorated, high-ceilinged living room, we sip from tiny cups of Turkish coffee. A sad smile

EDITORIAL

Last week, coming out swinging, Walter Mondale ridiculed President Reagan's "conciliatory" speech to the United Nations as a "deathbed conversion." For four years, he said, the Reagan administration "failed to reach a single arms control agreement with the Soviets. They proposed to extend the arms race into the heavens. But now, six weeks before the election, they talk of arms control—and they brag about blunting an issue."

As if to confirm Mondale's charge, White House officials have openly been talking about the president's meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko as, in the words of the *New York Times*, "a sign that relations are on the verge of improving." These same officials have "been hoping to blunt campaign criticism from Democrats that President Reagan has dangerously aggravated Soviet-American differences," the *Times* reports.

And yet, with Mondale consistently nibbling, and now flailing, at Reagan as a threat to world peace—a conclusion that we share with him—the American people seem stolidly unimpressed. It isn't that Americans don't want a real reduction in armaments and an accommodation with the Soviets. According to the *Times*, 60 percent of potential voters agree with the Mondale theme that the U.S. should try harder to negotiate an agreement. It's just that they don't believe Mondale will do a better job at securing such an agreement than Reagan.

And for good reason, because while Mondale has made Reagan's bellicosity a major theme of his campaign—the one

Mondale attack on Reagan bellicosity has a hollow ring

thing Mondale *can* do is read the opinion polls—he has not disagreed with any of the principles underlying Reagan's policies. Specifically, Mondale has been attacking Reagan for not conducting arms negotiations with the Soviets, but he supported and continues to support Reagan's deployment of cruise missiles in Europe, which is the cause of the Russians' refusal to negotiate any further. More generally, as Earl C. Ravenal has pointed out, the Reagan administration has simply been trying to implement the military objectives it inherited—from an administration in which Mondale was vice president. In fact, the Reagan administration is, in Ravenal's words, "just the latest in a long line, Democratic and Republican, from the beginning of the Cold War, to promote the American paradigm of large-scale deterrence and extensive forward defense or alliance."

Without in some way repudiating the underlying principles of the Cold War, all Mondale can hope to do is convince the American people that his intentions are

better than Reagan's. But Mondale is obsessed with details of policy, when the problems of American foreign relations and military spending require an examination of overall logic and goals. Short of that, there is little reason to expect any substantial popular interest in his charges against Reagan, for in every instance he either ends up agreeing with Reagan's actions or is outmaneuvered by him.

This was made clear in an interview on foreign affairs in the September 18 *New York Times*. On the Grenada invasion, Mondale backed away from his party's platform and differed with his running mate Geraldine Ferraro by accepting the notion that American students in Grenada had been "in trouble" after all, and that therefore he would have used American power to protect them. On El Salvador, he supported the administration's policy with regard to military aid to Napoleon Duarte. On Nicaragua he did say he would "terminate the covert action" (Congress had already mandated its end), but not because it violated the principles

of national sovereignty and self-determination. He would do so because "I think it is counterproductive."

Even on the issue of negotiating with the Soviets, Mondale is easily outmaneuvered. Having approved the cruise missile deployment that led to the disruption in the talks (there never were serious negotiations about reducing armaments), Mondale could only criticize Reagan for failure to meet with Soviet leaders. So Reagan met with Gromyko, thereby robbing Mondale, in the words of the *New York Times*, "of one of his most promising issues."

Well, what's the beef? No one on the left ever expected Walter Mondale to repudiate the failed foreign and military policies of the Carter administration, now being given their ultimate extension under Reagan, or to sound like George McGovern or Jesse Jackson. True, but we did have a right to think he would want to stir up enough popular interest in his campaign to win.

The only possibility.

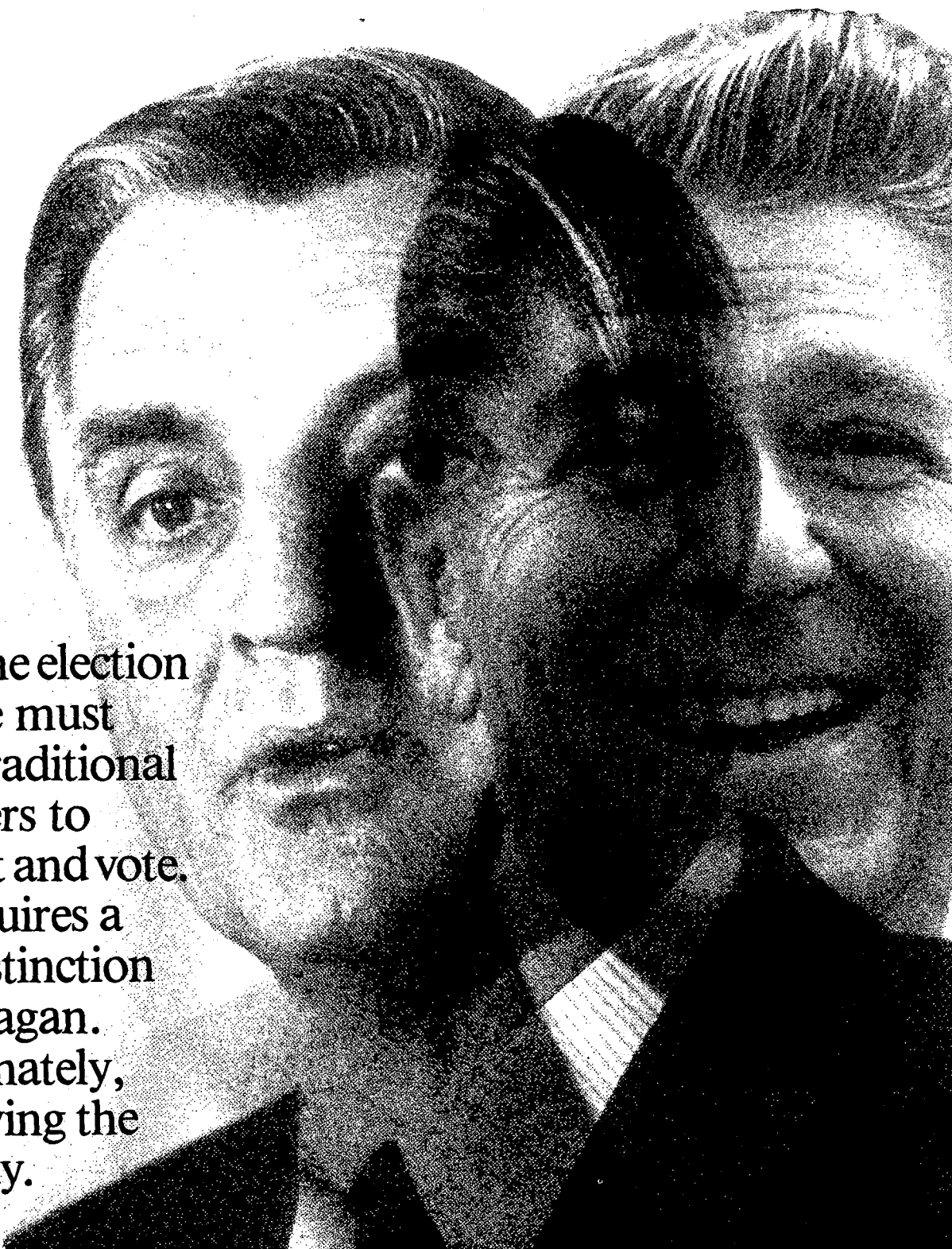
In our view, there was (and just might possibly still be) only one way to do that, and that is to give blacks, women and union members reason to believe he will set priorities for the nation that will take their needs into account. But so far Mondale and his advisors have moved in the opposite direction. They have done so on the absurd theory that Mondale can get elected by winning back conservative Democrats while taking his left constituents for granted. They see the problem as one of reconverting Democrats who voted for Reagan in 1980. But Carter lost that election primarily because hundreds of thousands of Democratic voters stayed home, not because Reagan got an unusually large vote. And Mondale can win this election, not by staying within the confines of the 1980 electorate, but only if unusually large numbers of blacks, women and union members can be inspired to vote.

Neither his tax and budget proposals nor his military and foreign policy proposals provide that something. This problem for Mondale was indicated two weeks ago in a Mervin Field poll in California. Interviewing Jesse Mancera, a Mexican-American who lives in heavily Democratic East Los Angeles, and David Schweitzer, an unemployed Anglo, Field found that Mancera believes "there isn't much difference between the two of them," so he probably won't vote, and that Schweitzer "probably" will vote for Reagan, even though his best hope of getting another job rests with one of the government programs Reagan threatens to eliminate. Field found that a substantial part of Reagan's lead in California is made up of voters with little enthusiasm but who generally like the man. These votes can never be won by a Mondale moving closer to Reagan on the issues, all the while proclaiming that his heart is with the working people. When it comes to hypocritical charm, Reagan beats Mondale hands down.

Is there any hope for a Reagan defeat in 1984? There seems precious little. In recent second-term presidential elections there were always enough negative votes to defeat the incumbent, but this year the negative voters are more concentrated among the groups least likely to vote. They are the ones who have suffered most under the first four years of Reagan, but they are also the ones who traditionally have not voted because there has been nothing to vote for.

Recently Chicago Mayor Harold Washington predicted a massive black vote in November, just as there had been in 1983. The presidential candidate, he said, was less than satisfactory, but the people would come out to vote for the party. We hope he is correct, though we're skeptical. But if he is it will mark a great leap forward in political maturity among the strongest left constituency in the U.S. And, if it is a national phenomenon, it might win the election for Fritz. ■

To win the election Mondale must inspire traditional non-voters to come out and vote. That requires a sharp distinction from Reagan. Unfortunately, he's moving the other way.



(Mondale) Steve Kagan, (Reagan) Lionel Delvingre

VOX POPULI

THE "REAGAN-HAS-ALREADY-WON" hand-wringing that has infected much of the left threatens to become self-fulfilling.

But much of Reagan's support is weak. Most Americans oppose his positions on the nuclear freeze, women's rights, the environment. Reagan is holding onto many of his supporters by downplaying these issues—but we can play them up.

How? The time-honored political strategy of writing "letters to the editor" is immensely powerful. To now, it has been relatively ignored.

As many as 25 percent of the voters regularly read their newspapers' letters columns. Furthermore, issues raised in the letters columns get increased news coverage on television and radio as well as in print.

It's time for us to get our typewriters clacking! The most effective letters will be fact-filled mini-reports focusing on those aspects of the Reagan presidency that would bother "soft" Reagan supporters—like his secret plan for waging World War III, his opposition to ERA and comparable worth, his federal deficit, the cruelty of his policies toward senior citizens, the way he has gouged the environment. Letters under 200 words have the best chance of being published; if you have more to say, try dividing it into two letters to two papers. Couch your letter as a response to a recent article in the paper to increase chances of publication. Above all, make sure all facts are accurate—you might do more harm than good if a later writer corrects your errors.

I've been involved in several issue campaigns that have succeeded because of the impact of letters to editors. A few hours spent penning a couple of letters now might help avert four years of misery.

—Steve Freedkin
Lansing, Mich.

PESSIMISM OF WILL AND INTELLECT

ARE WE IN DANGER OF A SELF-FULFILLING prophecy? Everywhere I turn I'm told Mondale isn't going to win. There does not seem to be any left left, except at the local level, and then only in a few locales.

For one whose introduction to politics came in the days of Vito Marcantonio and Mike Quill, of Upton Sinclair and Norman Thomas, the present scene strikes one's heart cold. I keep reading of all sorts of environmental movements, gender-rights movements and anti-nuke movements, but they do not seem to add up to anything nationally. There is no movement embracing these concerns powerful enough to dictate the Democratic Party platform and carry it to victory at the polls. The best we can get is tepid Fritz.

You note I made no mention of labor. Labor and the left seem to have parted company a long time ago, Marxist theory to the contrary notwithstanding. If present trends continue, in a few decades we will not have any working-class organizations whatsoever! Between unions that have sold out to capital, and workers who will not join any unions, labor almost falls out of any analysis of progressive politics. The workers who voted for Reagan in 1980 may vote for him again. I suspect they are the same workers who, during the Vietnam war, said, in effect, "Gimme a paycheck and take my son out and kill him in any imperialist war you want!" Oh, they didn't say it point blank, but they were not out on the streets fighting Johnson and Nixon and the damn war. The opposition to military adventurism in Central America seems to be largely a church-organized

affair. Certainly the Teamsters and the AFL/CIO are not in there pitching.

With labor such a weak reed, and the alternative movements fragmented, should I wait for 1988? Will it provide a better prospect? If Reagan is re-elected, how do I know there will be a 1988? Do I believe (as I certainly did in 1940) that things will get better? No, I do not. I merely hope that perhaps there is a slight chance, almost by accident, that Armageddon is not waiting for us just around the corner. This business of "pessimism of the mind and optimism of the will" is mighty stressful.

—Laurence G. Wolf
Cincinnati

DOUBLE FALSIFICATION

NORMAN G. FINKELSTEIN'S COMMENTARY (ITT, Sept. 5) on Joan Peters' *From Time Immemorial* is strong on "headline" and weak everywhere else. His several examples of what he refers to as Peters' "falsifications" are in themselves falsifications. I will illustrate with one:

Finkelstein quotes from the "Anglo-American Survey of Palestine (1945-46)":

"As a matter of emergency, official arrangements were made, in October 1942, to bring laborers from Syria and the Lebanon under the auspices of the Army.... Under this arrangement 3,800 laborers were admitted." (Finkelstein's emphasis)

He then presents what he professes to be Peters' treatment of the foregoing:

"What the official Anglo-American Survey of 1945-46 definitely disclosed... is that...tens of thousands of 'Arab illegal immigrants' [were] recorded as having been 'brought' into...Palestine..." (p. 379, emphasis in original)

Next, Finkelstein triumphantly points to this as "a good illustration of how Peters handles figures—'3,800' recorded Arab immigrant becomes 'tens of thousands.'"

When we check the quoted Peters statement on her page 379 we find that Finkelstein has copied it correctly, except that he leaves out some crucial words. We will return to this omission shortly.

On page 378, Peters writes: "...according to the Anglo-American Survey, 'official arrangements were made, in October 1942,' and 'under this arrangement' the Report noted that '3,800 laborers' were 'admitted' from Syria and Lebanon."

Unbelievable! In essence Peters' report here is a virtual duplicate of the one (quoted by Finkelstein) which Finkelstein boldly claims she has falsified. Instead of coupling the two matching statements, Finkelstein compares apples with oranges and deviously acquaints his with one of Peters' (re: tens of thousands of Arab immigrants [p. 379]) which really deals with an entirely different situation.

If we read more on pp. 378 and 379, we see clearly how Peters arrived at the figure of "tens of thousands of illegal Arab immigrants." She points out that the Anglo-American Survey tried to treat Arab illegal immigration as "insignificant" but that by diligently examining its pages in detail she was able to extract considerable evidence to contradict such a conclusion. For example, there was a reference to a police estimate of Arab illegal immigrants amounting to 9,687. Another reported the immigration of nearly 10,000 Arabs, most of whom eventually remained in Palestine illegally. And there was much more.

With such data in hand, Peters then rightfully concluded what Finkelstein has so viciously criticized. Let us again look at the statement in question, this time including those words that Finkelstein dishonestly omitted. For emphasis, his omissions are italicized.

"What the official Anglo-American 'Survey' of 1945-46 definitely disclosed—*however obfuscated the presentation, however buried in the three-volume*

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

post-war report it may be—is that tens of thousands of 'Arab illegal immigrants' recorded as having been 'brought' into Western Palestine...."

In the light of the facts that Peters had uncovered, the meaning of her statement is clear and accurate and its integrity is beyond challenge. There is definitely no "hoax" or "falsification" on her part. But can we say the same for Finkelstein?

The foregoing analysis is but one sample of Finkelstein's (mis)treatment of *From Time Immemorial*. And it is typical of his whole article. His arguments and conclusions, composed mainly of misrepresentations and distortions, are simply ineffective against Peters' massive evidence and solid reasoning.

Peters' book is relatively new. In time, some of her data and conclusions may be successfully challenged. But Finkelstein's incompetent critique makes no contribution (except among the gullible) toward that end. For the present, *From Time Immemorial* retains its widely recognized integrity and Joan Peters still merits her image of a careful researcher who accurately documented extensive evidence and used it logically to arrive at reasonable conclusions.

—Julius B. Mosler
Los Angeles

Norman Finkelstein replies: The Survey of Palestine divides Arab immigration into Palestine during World War II into two categories. First, officially recorded immigration: "As a matter of emergency, official arrangements were made, in October 1942, to bring laborers from Syria and the Lebanon under the auspices of the Army.... Under this arrangement, 3,800 laborers were admitted." And second, unrecorded immigration: "In addition to these Syrian and Lebanese laborers who were brought to Palestine under official arrangements, inhabitants of neighboring countries...entered Palestine illegally in considerable numbers during the War. ...No estimates are available of the numbers of foreign laborers who were

so brought into the country by contractors or who entered individually in search of employment on military works."

Referring to these very same passages, Peters writes: "What the official Anglo-American Survey of 1945-46 definitely disclosed...is...that tens of thousands of 'Arab illegal immigrants' [were] recorded as having been 'brought' into Western Palestine.... In addition, other unestimated 'considerable' numbers immigrated 'unofficially' or as 'individuals' during the war, according to the report." (all emphases in Peters' text)

"Tens of thousands" refers unmistakably to the first category of Arab immigrants: Peters, not I, italicized the word "recorded."

Mosler is not telling me or attentive readers of my article anything new when he observes that Peters elsewhere quotes the text correctly. I wrote: "But though Peters is a grotesque falsifier, she is not lacking in cleverness. The quotes she falsifies in the text are often accurately rendered somewhere in a footnote." Mosler's revelation is simply one variant of this technique. The same text is first rendered accurately and then falsified several times over. The combined effect of these multiple—and mostly falsified—references to the same text is to create a mountain where there isn't even a molehill.

CORRECTION

In "NLRB limits hospital unions" (ITT, Sept. 26), we regret the misplaced quotation marks. The sentence should have read: In 1974, Congress extended protection of the NLRB to nonprofit health care institutions, but warned against a "proliferation of bargaining units" to decrease the likelihood of work stoppages that could affect health care delivery.

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PERSPECTIVES

Our Republican high priest

By Jim Wallis

THE RELIGION THAT RONALD Reagan promulgates, like that of many of his predecessors, is an American civil religion—an amalgam of the Judeo-Christian heritage and the national experience. It often casts national aspirations and ambitions in religious metaphors, speaks of transcendent moral values, mixes piety with patriotism, invokes God's name when speaking of the national destiny and generally blurs the distinction between biblical faith and cultural religion.

But as many scholars have pointed out, there are two kinds of civil religion: the prophetic and the priestly. Both appeal to transcendent faith and moral values but for very different purposes.

Prophetic religion invokes the values, ideals and even the faith that stands above the behavior of the people and practices of the nation. On the basis of transcendent faith and moral values, it calls the people and the nation to accountability. This, of course, is the role of the prophetic biblical tradition.

Martin Luther King Jr. stood firmly on that tradition as he spoke to the nation about living up to the challenge of both biblical faith and the best ideals and aspirations of America. Dorothy Day, by stubbornly espousing and living out true gospel values, exposed the hypocrisy of a self-proclaimed Christian nation that exploited the poor while finding its identity in possessions and its security in weapons.

Even a president, Abraham Lincoln, called for national penitence for slavery and civil war. He reminded a divided nation that both sides in the war read the same Bible and prayed to the same God, whom each believed to be on their side. The prophetic stream of American religion has been faithfully persistent but never dominant. The function of prophetic religion is to bring the nation under judgment and call the people to repentance.

The more common form of American civil religion has been its priestly variety. Here religion is used to comfort the people, to assure them of their basic goodness and the soundness of their institutions, to assert the righteousness of the national purpose and destiny. The appeal here is to pride and to the glory of the nation's past, present and future.

This is the religion of the prayer breakfasts, where presidents and other political leaders gather with the nation's religious leaders, not to bring the nation under accountability to the Word of God, but to engage in mutual affirmation and outright political campaigning.

President Ronald Reagan felt so comfortable and so surrounded by friends at the 1983 National Prayer Breakfast that he began his remarks by turning to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and saying, "General Vessey, I'm terribly tempted to call for a vote right now on the defense budget." The laughter that filled the plush hotel ballroom indicated that everyone understood the president's meaning.

New high priest.

Ronald Reagan has become the new high priest of American civil religion. Others have gone before him, often in the White House, and others will go after him. But Reagan has become, quite self-consciously, the chief spokesman for the religion of America.

The religious themes in his speeches are constant and recurrent: America is a nation set apart, specially blessed and favored by God over other nations. We, like

ancient Israel, are in fact a chosen nation, destined to play a central role in the divine plan.

That, of course, is an often-repeated theme in the history of American civil religion and the rhetoric of presidents, and Ronald Reagan has revived it with his determination to make America again the powerful force he thinks it ought to be in the world. The theme of his 1984 State of the Union message made his meaning clear—"America is back standing tall again!" As the president-priest is always ready to proclaim, "America is still the last and best hope of mankind."

Nothing in all of this is biblical. In fact this self-understanding is quite dangerous for any nation to possess, as previous great powers have discovered too late.

Ronald Reagan continually uses the language of spiritual renewal and revival. He links such spiritual rebirth not only to

president says is what his administration has done. While no recent U.S. president has been a true friend to the poor, the Reagan administration has plunged to new depths by making the abandonment of the poor official policy. No presidential administration in recent memory has been such bad news for the poor and such good news for the rich. Reagan directly reverses the biblical priority.

The issue is far deeper than one of "fairness," as the Democrats put it. At stake are the fundamental questions of justice that fill the Bible from cover to cover. A society that rewards the rich and punishes the poor cannot be a spiritually vital society. According to the Bible, the moral health and holiness of a society is largely determined by how it treats its poor.

The Reagan theology also equates spiritual revival with an unprecedented



America's wealth is a sign of righteousness, according to the Reagan gospel.

the restoration of American power in the world, but also to American wealth and prosperity. He repeats the message of the television preachers who say America's wealth is a sign of America's righteousness and, by implication, the poor people and nations of the world are spiritually suspect.

The insensitivity of the Reagan administration toward the poor has often been blatant and absurd. Presidential Counselor Edwin Meese, in a now-famous statement, said he didn't think there was authoritative evidence of the existence of hungry people in America. When questioned about the long lines at soup kitchens across the country, Meese replied that "people go to soup kitchens because the food is free and that's easier than paying for it."

Ronald Reagan seemed to agree with that and added himself that the homeless in America are really "homeless by choice." The hungry and the homeless are that way by choice or spiritual defect, and the system of free-enterprise capitalism is not only the best in the world but is God-ordained; that is the economic meaning of Ronald Reagan's theology.

Even more important than what the

American military buildup. The tremendous increase in military spending has come at the expense of social programs for the poor, and is thus founded upon a basic injustice. More than ever before, the nation, under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, has put its trust and faith in its weapons of war in direct opposition to the biblical warning not to trust in horses and chariots. Despite the nuclear danger, this administration does not talk to our adversaries but talks instead of fighting and winning "limited" nuclear wars.

Indeed, the Soviet Union, Ronald Reagan told the cheering evangelicals assembled in Orlando, Fla., on March 8, 1983, is "the focus of evil in the modern world." Our enemy is an "evil empire," but our nuclear weapons are for a righteous purpose. In a world poised on the edge of total destruction, no more frightening theology than this could be conceived of. It is not only bad theology, but dangerous heresy to suggest that evil in the world today is mostly located to the north of the Caspian Sea.

Upon hearing a report of the speech in Orlando, the words of Jesus rang in my ears: "Why do you see the speck in your brother's eye, and not the log in your own eye?" The president sees Soviet aggressions but not American ones. He cares about persecuted Russian dissidents but not about priests, lay workers, women religious and archbishops murdered by the governments we support.

He says, in fact, that America has never committed any aggression or fought a war for selfish reasons. To that, the many victims of American violence surely raise their voices with those of the many victims of Soviet atrocities and cry out to

heaven for redress.

Aeschylus, a Greek dramatist, said it well. "In war, truth is the first casualty." Today the president of the U.S. calls the government in El Salvador, whose security forces and death squads have killed 40,000 of its own people in the last five years, a "democracy." He praises CIA-paid *contra* terrorists as "freedom fighters" and labels Nicaragua, a country finally free from decades of U.S.-backed dictatorship, a "totalitarian dungeon." Not telling the truth is always bad theology.

Apparently, too, the fundamentalist theology of some of the president's best friends seems to have rubbed off on him in some quite disconcerting ways. On at least five occasions in the last four years, Reagan has referred to his belief that Armageddon (the final battle between the forces of good and evil at the end of the world) may be fast approaching.

Jerry Falwell and the other fundamentalist preachers who apparently have the president's ear link the "end times" with a final confrontation with godless communism, perhaps involving nuclear weapons. Though Falwell and others are quick to point out that the true Christians would all be safely raptured before any nuclear holocaust, their predictions, if taken seriously, could prove to be more than a little dangerous.

What are the possible consequences of having a commander-in-chief who is sympathetic to a fundamentalist view that, by a perverse and twisted logic, sees nuclear war as part of God's will for the way the world will end?

William Martin, a sociology professor from Rice University and frequent writer on religious topics, puts the question well in the June 1982 issue of *Atlantic* magazine:

If a president were to appoint one or more premillennialists to key foreign policy posts (who at the confirmation hearings would think to probe for beliefs about the Second Coming?), what incentive would they have to work for a lasting peace in the Mideast, since they would regard a Russian-led attack on Israel as a necessary precursor of the Millennium...?

And if the nuclear destruction of Russia is foreordained, in some premillennial schemes, might not a fundamentalist politician or general regard his finger on the button as an instrument of God's eternal purpose?

And what are the potential consequences for the nation of a president who takes his religious advice almost exclusively from fundamentalist Christians instead of from church and religious leaders from across the spectrum of American religious life? Falwell's role in particular is worthy of note. He seems to have replaced Billy Graham in this administration as the evangelical preacher who most frequently visits the White House. Falwell boasts of his friendship and influence with the president. In fact, the two appeared together in an election-year "revival meeting" held last May in Washington, D.C.

The president has rejected the witness and wisdom of the U.S. Catholic bishops in their pastoral letter on the nuclear arms race, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*. At the same time, he has consistently welcomed the advice and support of the fundamentalist preachers on the same subject.

In an extraordinary recounting, Haynes Johnson in the April 3, 1983, *Washington Post* tells at length the story of the Reagan-Falwell partnership on the question of nuclear weapons.

On March 15, Falwell met with Ronald Reagan for an hour and 10 minutes in the White House. A key Falwell aide tells me they discussed the nuclear freeze movement and the politics of the situation facing the president.

Reagan, according to this account, remarked that Falwell was the only major conservative minister speaking out in opposition to the nuclear freeze. He mused aloud about why it was so difficult for him to get his peace-through-strength message across to the country.

Falwell replied that one of the problems was the extremely complicated nature of the subject; the president's case hadn't been boiled down into language the average citizen, the farmers and laborers of America, could understand. If the president could supply him with such language, and the official facts and figures to back them up, he, Falwell, would be proud to carry that case to the public.

The president then called in an aide and instructed that such material be prepared for Falwell.

Several days later, Falwell returned to Washington. He was given a briefing by National Security Council aides, accompanied by charts and graphs, and written material making the president's case "in laymen's language" about the Soviet military strength.

Since then, Falwell has been off and running. His organization has reproduced the president's written material in even more simplified language. It is being distributed to hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Americans. His full-page ads running in papers nationally tell citizens: "We cannot afford to be number two in defense! But sadly enough, that's where we are today. Number two. And fading!"

And he goes on to say, in language that directly impugns the loyalty of opponents, specifically duly elected representatives of the people: "We have a president who wants to build up our military strength. But he is catching it from all sides. The 'freeze-niks,' 'ultra-libs' and 'unilateral disarmers' are after him. He and the loyal members of Congress need to know that you are with them."

His electronic audiences hear him describe what the president "told me" and how the National Security Council "briefed me." He asks listeners if they are going to take the word of the president and the secretary of defense, as relayed through himself, or others? And he makes dark allusions to those advocating a nuclear freeze as having "links to the Kremlin."

Indivisible.

Finally, we are brought to the most delicate and difficult issue: the president's "pro-life" stance.

The deep concern of many Christians about the ethics and ethos of "abortion on demand" is, in my view, on solid ground. But the polemics around the issue of abortion reveal great moral inconsistencies on almost all sides of the fierce debate. The Reagan position on the issue, again aligning with the right, has served to bring theological and moral inconsistencies into sharp relief.

Life is woven into a single fabric. It must be defended everywhere and anywhere it is threatened. Whether the lives are yet unborn, or an enemy population under the shadow of our missiles, or children of poor families without enough to eat, or Central American peasants facing terror, torture and murder, or prisoners on death row—all these lives are precious to God and must be protected and preserved by those who love God.

The knife of political ideology separates these issues from one another. By

linking the abortion question to a whole other agenda that is decidedly not pro-life, Ronald Reagan has cut the moral heart out of his concern for the sacredness of human life.

A much saner voice and a better theology on these matters can be heard these days from Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, speaking for the U.S. Catholic bishops. He speaks of "the need for an attitude or atmosphere in society that is the pre-condition for sustaining a consistent ethic of life." He continues:

We intend our opposition to abortion and our opposition to nuclear war to be seen as specific applications of this broader attitude. We have also opposed the death penalty because we do not think its use cultivates an attitude of respect for life in society. The purpose of proposing a consistent ethic of life is to argue that success on any one of these issues threatening life requires a concern for the broader attitude in society about respect for human life.... Our moral, political and economic responsibilities do not stop

at the moment of birth. Those who defend the right to life of the weakest among us must be equally visible in the support of the quality of life of the powerless among us: the old and the young, the hungry and the homeless, the undocumented immigrant and the unemployed worker.

The commitment to the right to life, the quality of life and the search for a positive peace has, says Bernardin, "led the U.S. bishops not only to oppose the drive of the nuclear arms race, but to stand against the dynamic of a Central American policy that relies predominantly on the threat and use of force, which is increasingly distancing itself from a concern for human rights...and which fails to grasp the opportunity of a diplomatic solution to the Central American conflict." Here is the outline of a public theology that is genuinely pro-life across the spectrum of social issues and human concerns. Here, in fact, is a direction clearly in the prophetic tradition of American religion.

Ronald Reagan may be a new theologian, but unfortunately, his theology is not new. It is the old theology of American civil religion, which sees our nation as first, best, richest, most righteous and, always, most powerful in the world.

It is a theology that favors the rich over the poor, the strong over the weak and the nationalist over the dissenter. It is a theology that does not subject itself to the Word of God but claims to be on God's side. It does not call the people to participate in God's purpose but rather calls on God to join its purpose. God, in fact, becomes a narrow American tribal deity in this priestly civil religion, to be called upon and used to bless the ambitions and aspirations of the nation.

Ronald Reagan's religion is, in the end, the religion of the state. It is a religion whose constant companion is falsehood and whose greatest enemy is truth.

Jim Wallis is editor of *Sojourners*, from which this is reprinted with permission. *Sojourners* address is Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017.

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Listing the total number of points accredited to each individual contestant to date

ENTRY	TERM	PRICE	POINTS
U.S. RESIDENT	One Year Regular	\$29.50	1
	One Year Student/Retired	\$19.50	1
	Six Month Regular	\$15.95	1
FOREIGN RESIDENT	One Year Surface Mail	\$35.00	1
	Six Month Surface Mail	\$17.50	1
	One Year Air Mail	\$110.00	1
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- 3 points: an *In These Times* T-shirt or hat
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 - 5 additional (10 points total): a \$100 gift certificate to L.L. Bean or REI (Recreational Equipment Inc.)
 - 10 additional (20 points total): a camera or ten-speed bicycle (\$200 value)
 - 15 additional (35 points total): an electric typewriter or color TV (\$350 value)
- The contestant with the most points (and with a minimum of 50) will win the grand prize, a Kay Pro II personal computer. All prizes will be fulfilled promptly, as the contestant reaches each prize level. All prizes will be mailed no later than November 30, 1984.
- 8) No information concerning contestant standings or point totals will be given over the phone. All inquiries must be in writing.
- For additional information, please write to: Subscription Contest, *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657

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INPRINT

Something Out There
By Nadine Gordimer
Viking Press, 203 pp., \$15.95

By Dan Bellm

The prime minister of South Africa is giving a speech over the radio. "This government will not stand by and see the peace of mind of its peoples destroyed. It will not see the security of your homes, of your children asleep in their beds, threatened by those who lurk, outside law and order, ready to strike in the dark...." Is this a political speech, or a scary bedtime story?

"Something Out There," the title story of Nadine Gordimer's newest collection of short stories, uses caricature, irony and a keen understanding of character to examine the fears just beneath the well-groomed surface of white South African privilege.

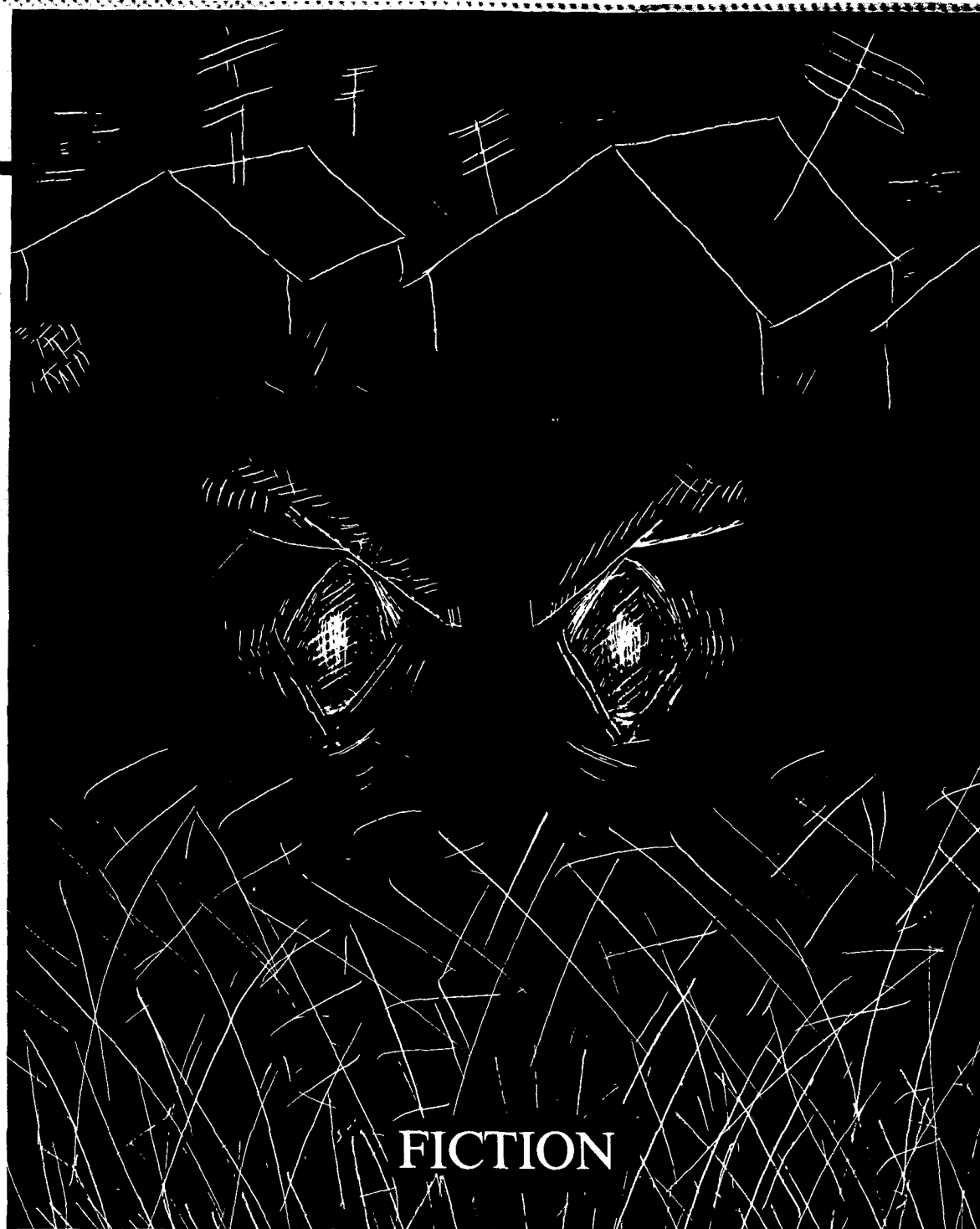
Fear is probably the core illusion upon which race hatred grows. What are whites afraid of? As the story opens, the tabloid newspapers are having a field day: a wild animal is on the loose in the plush suburbs of Johannesburg, mauling innocent little pets and stealing sides of meat. It all makes for a "nice change from the usual sort of news" (insults from the UN, rioting students). No one has gotten a close look—"a dark face with far-back eyes" is all one witness can remember—and since no one knows for sure what kind of animal it is, it becomes the primeval mythical Beast.

A cast of terrified and rather simple-minded bigots, with names like Naas Klopper and Bokkie Scholtz, finds their "lovely homes" invaded by mystery: "It just shows you," says Bokkie, "whatever you do, you can't call yourself safe."

Caricature is rare in Gordimer's work, but the potshot humor is an effective foil for a deeper plot that slowly unfolds. Something else is "out there." White suburbia is distracted by a marauding monster, four people (two of them white, two black) are stockpiling ammunition and supplies for a raid on a power plant. Charles and Joy, the white "couple"—no longer lovers, but committed to carrying out a plan they long ago agreed upon—have rented an abandoned farmhouse for the purpose. The black men Eddie and Vusi join them, play-acting for the neighbors the role of hired garden-boys when necessary. No living arrangement could be more "unnatural" under the apartheid regime, and their shared political commitment doesn't make it any easier. In this comic "spook" story Gordimer reserves her respect for these four, as they fumble their way from play-acting and stilted hospitality to real intimacy.

One evening they hear the prime minister describing terrorists over the radio. "They were accustomed to smile as people will when they must realize that those being referred to as monsters are the human beings drinking a glass of water, cutting a hang-nail, writing a letter, in the same room; are themselves." The value of this story lies in Gordimer's continuing ability to give white South Africa's nightmares a human face.

Some critics have charged Gor-



FICTION

Nadine Gordimer: A thorn in apartheid's side

dimer with playing upon white guilt. But she puts white characters into crises too urgent for guilt; they either move beyond it or they don't survive. Nor is she simply "playing" upon white fears; rather, she holds the fear of spooks up to ridicule in order to identify the real fear underneath: how much whites may have to change.

Gordimer remarked in an interview this September, "There are some whites in South Africa who one way or another are looking for ways to prepare themselves, to live differently under a black majority government in a non-racial state. They believe in a non-racial state and they think that the way toward it is through black liberation. I'm one of them."

Her best-known novels have presented white characters at various stages of such preparation. In *Burger's Daughter* (1980), Rosa Burger, whose radical father has died in prison, slowly emerges from under the weight of his noble reputation to embrace his values for herself. In *July's People* (1981), set during a state of siege in the not-too-distant future, the tables are turned on a liberal white family overnight, who now find themselves completely dependent for survival on their decently treated but long-ignored black servant.

Gordimer's frequent emphasis on white response to apartheid—although she does not shy away from creating black characters—by no means implies that the answers lie in white hands. In "Something Out There," Eddie

scoffs at the old liberal theory that "if whites could have been cured of being scared of blacks, that would have solved everything." Charles agrees—a panic-stricken speech like the prime minister's only demonstrates "the power of fear, not the collapse of power." Righteousness will not shame evil out of existence; they have chosen direct action.

Since *July's People*, Gordimer's work has taken on an increasingly revolutionary tone, but it isn't necessarily hopeful. She understands that violence may be necessary to break out of the current impasse, and yet she hopes (despairingly) that change can somehow come by peaceful means.

The ending of "Something Out There" doesn't judge the effec-

Her stories talk about the core illusion of race hatred—fear. Something is lurking out there in white suburbia....



tiveness of bombing a power plant; that's not the point. As the tabloids take up the investigation, to get to the bottom of this latest horror, they are left holding scattered bits of information about four essentially unknowable characters. The four "terrorists" can't fully grasp the meaning of their own action either. In the brilliant closing sequence, Gordimer steps outside her story to view this bombing incident as an indefinite point in the long cycle of African history—one that began, and by implication will end, with black people.

Spring the trap.

Gordimer is best known in this country for her novels (and "Something Out There" is long enough to be grouped with them) but over the past 30 years she has continually returned to the short story—where she began. *Something Out There* is her seventh collection of stories, and several of these new stories reconfirm her ability to condense character, place and meaning into a seemingly effortless quick sketch. All but one are set in South Africa. The best of them trick us into believing we've understood the characters and the situation (a "simple" case of political evil, right?), only to spring the trap.

Two of the stories concern unsuspected acts of betrayal: in "A City of the Dead, a City of the Living" a woman informs on the fugitive it seems she was falling in love with; in "Crimes of Conscience" a woman subtly undermines the agent sent to spy on her. "A Correspondence Course" is an excellent study-in-miniature of a mother and daughter faced with a dilemma much like Rosa Burger's: to accept inaction or to be "done for" by accepting the radical consequences of a small "liberal" act of kindness.

"At the Rendezvous of Victory" takes us back to the dilemmas of Gordimer's novel *A Guest of Honor* (1983): a black military hero who becomes an outdated embarrassment as the revolution he helped win is co-opted. "Blinder" is the beautiful and moving story of a housemaid, Rose, whose lover has died. Her employer assumes she will resort to another of her alcoholic binges, but Rose shames expectations with an act of strength.

Fiction alone, of course, will not bring the apartheid system to its knees. Nor are difficult books like *Burger's Daughter*, Gordimer admits, likely to rouse the masses. The South African government, no doubt realizing this—and wary of international outcries in defense of a great writer—no longer bans her books. Yet Gordimer continues to live in South Africa and write what she pleases—a thorn in apartheid's side.

She has stayed out of prison by avoiding direct political action, but her work continues to unmask for the entire world the moral and human waste of her country's system. Nadine Gordimer remains one of the best sources for knowing not the grim statistics of South Africa, but how South Africans live. ■

Dan Bellm is a New York-based freelance writer whose articles have appeared in *The Guardian* and the *New York Native*.

By Pat Aufderheide

PUBLISHING

New project rescues and translates forbidden literature

Literature that is provoked by injustice and produced in challenge to censorship often doesn't have to be good to be interesting—but sometimes it's both. And that is the stuff that two human rights activists have recently undertaken to get translated and on to our bedside tables.

The new project is called Readers International, but it uses an old method: sale by subscription. This 19th-century marketing mode has also been borrowed and adapted by Book of the Month Club and by encyclopedia salesmen. But for the impoverished first-time publishers Sherman Carroll and Dorothy Connell, who show up at book conventions with their baby stroller in tow and hot manuscripts under their arms, it is a poor person's way to offer English-speakers a view beyond the many curtains between us and all the them. Like a magazine subscription, it's a gamble—but it could be more than worth it, for its introduction to worlds we might never have known existed.

A world, for instance, like the one offered in *Najran below Zero*. This may be the first novel from a critical perspective on social crisis in Saudi Arabia. Reading it will place North Yemen—which fell into Saudi territory in 1934 and was a loyalist stronghold during the '60s civil war—on your mental map. It will give you a sense of social context for political action. The story makes real the importance of religious belief (and religious police) and of harshly rigid sex roles in setting the terms for politics.

Although the novel is framed in a graceful, third-person story-telling style, it also uses subjective voice and stream-of-consciousness at different moments to create its visions of Saudi Arabian society from the bottom up. If the novel seems sophisticated for an area of the world our nightly news labels "backward," the irony is all on us. Author Yahya Yakhlaf is head of the Palestinian Writers Union, and only one of the many Arab-world writers working in Western forms we've never heard of before. And that's not surprising—less than 1 percent of the books published in this country are books in translation.

Other writings in this series experiment with and stretch the fiction form so regularly pronounced moribund at home. For instance, there is *To Bury Our Fathers*, a novel by Nicaragua's leading novelist (and vice-presidential candidate for the Sandinistas this fall). The book, written during exile in the Somoza era, recounts life in the resistance from the viewpoint of different resistance members, each as full of foibles and illusions as of dreams. The novel shocks a long-distance observer of Central American politics for conjuring up the feel, smell and look of a society under siege. It is far from didactic literature—it plunges you into the exasperating and sometimes ludicrous terms of daily life in a land where society-wide poverty can be harder to overthrow than a dictator.

Diverse human rights.

Although all the novels have as their common thread a concern with human rights, more striking is the richness of their diversity, both in style and content. The coolly factual *A Cadre School Life*, written by the aged intellectual Yang Jiang about her experi-



The Nicaraguan novel, *TO BURY OUR FATHERS*, recounts life in the resistance and conjures up the feeling of a society under siege.

ences in a labor camp during the Cultural Revolution, astounds as much for its understated tone as for its record of abuse, mismanagement and idealism gone amok. If there is irony or anger here, it is sternly kept in check; this is a woman who believes the facts will speak for themselves.

At the other end of the spectrum is the witty, elegantly crafted set of short stories by Czech author Ivan Klima. The stories each light up a window in a society where the corrupt rivals the quixotic in the daily affairs of Klima's urban neighbors.

The publishers began thinking about this project when Connell was an editor with the British publication *Index on Censorship* and Carroll was working with Amnesty International. They are no doubt heartened to find that their new venture has already made an impact in censored societies. Their publication of *A Ride on the Whirlwind*, a story of Soweto written by black South African poet Sipho Sepamla, has helped to re-issue the originally banned book inside South Africa.

Readers International faces a double challenge in providing this kind of fiction to English-speakers. Besides the task of rescuing forbidden literature from one country and marketing it in another where "political" art doesn't sell well, they also face the prohibitive costs of transla-

tion. Even in the best of circumstances, it's expensive. *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, for all its reputation, required a subsidy to be translated into English. There are also technical difficulties, such as finding low-cost translators for languages ranging from Arabic to Czech, and making sure that translations can be transatlantic.

Ramirez' novel, for instance, is full of slang that, phrased in American English, might as well be Greek—or Spanish—to British readers. The publishers have landed some start-up money from the Dutch-based European Human Rights Foundation, but bemoan the lack of interest among government agencies for funding of translations. They point, in contrast, to efforts by German, Japanese and South Korean governments to fund translation efforts.

A humanist vision.

Connell and Carroll think they may be introducing American readers to some of the most interesting writing in the world today, as well as offering the readers a humanist vision of political affairs. "The books we are interested in," says Connell, "are being written about something the writers feel urgently. These are writers who are not dogmatic or ideological, but who are writing about the simple facts of life. And it is that that gets them in trouble with the authorities."

"I don't see much introspective writing in this area," comments Carroll. "The more introspective style tends to come from intellectuals who have studied or who live abroad. Younger writers often favor narrative fiction because they feel they have a story to tell. In any case, we want to start this series with fiction—drama and poetry can come later—in order to acquaint readers with works that have strong characters, a good plot and an adept use of language."

One service Readers International is unlikely to provide is the traditional author tour. Indeed, some of Connell and Carroll's best stories of manuscript acqui-

sition must go untold because of the risk to the authors. And royalties may be difficult to deliver even if any money gets made. But they still get encouragement from their authors. Ivan Klima first learned that his work would be translated when he heard the news on Radio Free Europe, and he promptly sent them an enthus-

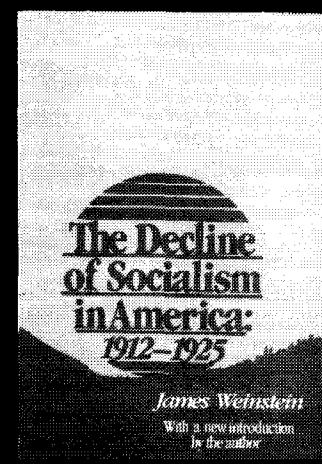
iastic message of support.

"What we hear from the authors is, 'Please tell our story, get it out—that's what gives us protection,'" says Carroll.

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*One example
is a novel
about social
crisis in Saudi
Arabia by the
head of the
Palestinian
writers union.*

By George Robinson

Alain Tanner has a sober, almost melancholy air. A bearish man with a salt-and-pepper beard, he speaks quietly but emphatically, his articulate English colored by a slight French-Swiss accent. Tanner's age is surprising at first meeting—he's in his mid-50s. You'd expect the director of *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000* to be closer to Jonah's projected age. That film's passionate if ironic commitment to the radicalism of '68 is not an attitude ordinarily associated with a filmmaker of Tanner's vintage. As Tanner has observed, "The only good thing about film is that it keeps you young."

On the other hand, a younger filmmaker might be incapable of the lucidity, resignation and tension in Tanner's most recent work. *In the White City* is a hypnotically languorous film about Paul (Bruno Ganz), a Swiss ship's engineer who jumps ship in Lisbon in search of...in search of what? Tanner's male protagonists are invariably men in-between, alienated from their surroundings but unable to make a clean break from them. Paul, the latest in this line, finally returns to wife and home and Berne. But before he does, his ego is dissolved in the Lisbon streets, and in an aimless affair with Rosa, a young Portuguese barmaid (Teresa Madruga).

The interview that follows took place during the New York Film Festival, at which *In the White City* had its American premiere.

Several years ago, you told *CINEASTE* that you couldn't conceive of making a film outside Switzerland.

Did I really say that? In the late '60s and early '70s the cinema of many countries, especially for people of our generation, was linked closely with not just politics but ideological questions and problems. When you want to have a discourse close to politics, you have to do it in the country to which you belong, where you're a citizen, because then it gives you the right to speak about those things. But after the—well, let's call it disillusion—the withdrawal of the more political side of filmmaking, in life in general, I felt freer to work abroad.

Switzerland is so small. My part of Switzerland, the French-speaking part, has one million people. It's a tiny little piece of country. The German side has five million, but for me that's abroad—I don't speak the language. Working in a country of one million people is just too small. There's no kind of cultural market. I'm not thinking only in terms of business, but in terms of the way discourse circulates in a country, the feedback, the limits. So after *Messidor*, which I made in Switzerland in '79, I had a very strong feeling of the absolute necessity of getting out for a while. That's why I went to Ireland to make *Light Years Away*.

The Portuguese story is different, because that wasn't a choice, it was an invitation I got from a friend who is a producer in Portugal [Paulo Branco] to do a film. Mind you, I jumped at the occasion.

Do you find the Swiss industry and audiences provincial?

In many ways they are less provincial than the American cinema. They are much more open to different things. This is the most provincial cinema today, the American.

Now more than ever.

It is the worst "province" to make films in. The French-speaking part of Switzerland is a kind of sub-province of French culture and the French nation. I don't feel French. I don't really know what I am. But in that way, of course, it is a little provincial, because it's a little remote, a little cut off from the main trends in ideas, culture, discourse, that come from the capital of each culture—Paris for us. So we are perhaps provincial in that way.

At the press conference the other day you said, "I am at ease everywhere and also abroad everywhere." Is that sense of exile an integral part of being Swiss?

My origins are very mixed, that's why I don't belong, I don't have roots. Switzerland is a kind of political fiction. You don't belong to a real people that has its own culture, like, say, the Greek or Italian or German. They have their own language, their own culture. Switzerland is a combination of various little states that came together because they were threatened by the Hapsburgs and by Napoleon. So they invented that little country.

And it works. But as far as culture is concerned and roots and language and people who feel they belong—Switzerland is not really one culture, one nation. So that's what I mean, I belong to a bit of everywhere and nowhere. That's also why I feel at ease everywhere and miserable everywhere.

In that respect, you're like Marcel Ophüls, who's truly a stateless person.

Well, I made peace with that problem, which had worried me for some time. I was very upset that I was jealous of an Italian who could make an Italian film, or a Spaniard who could make a Spanish film. I couldn't make a Swiss film because such a thing doesn't really exist.

Is that simultaneous sense of alienation and ease part of what made your collaboration with John Berger so fruitful? He is someone else who—by conscious decision, in his case—removed himself from his roots. [Screenwriter on *Le Salamandre*, *Middle of the World* and *Jonah*, the English art critic Berger lives in the French Alps.]

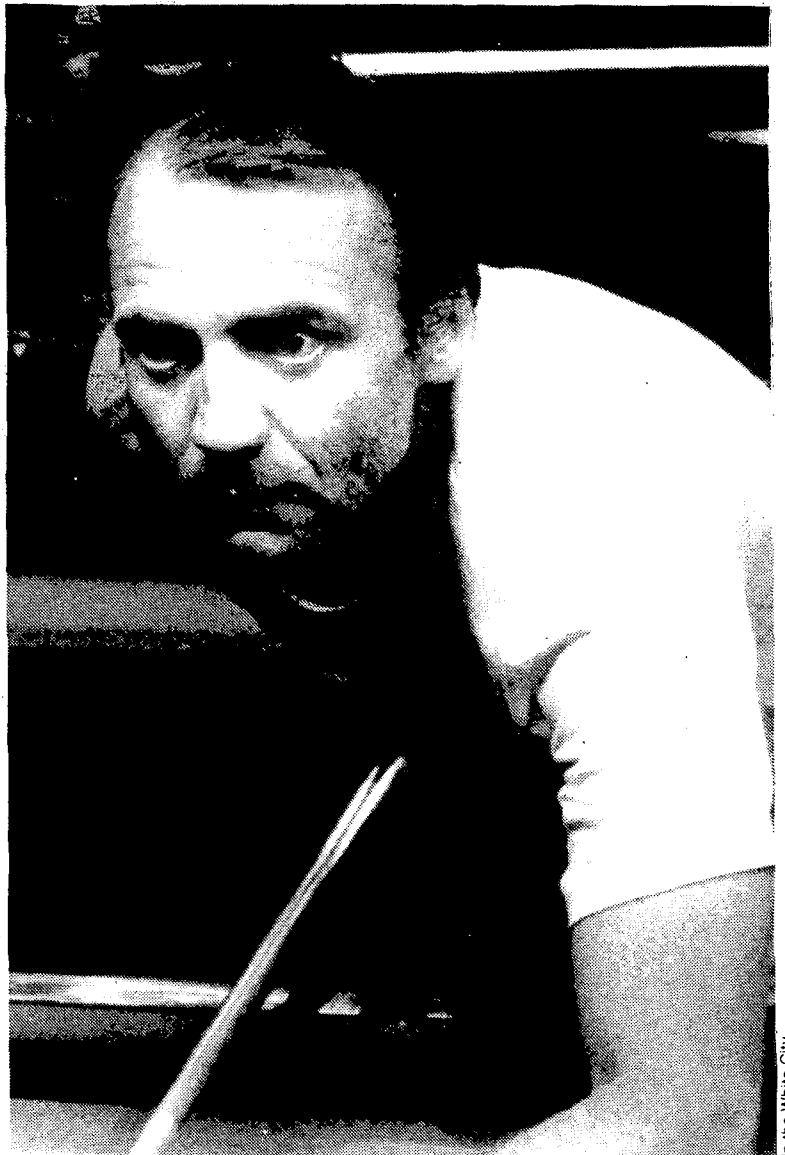
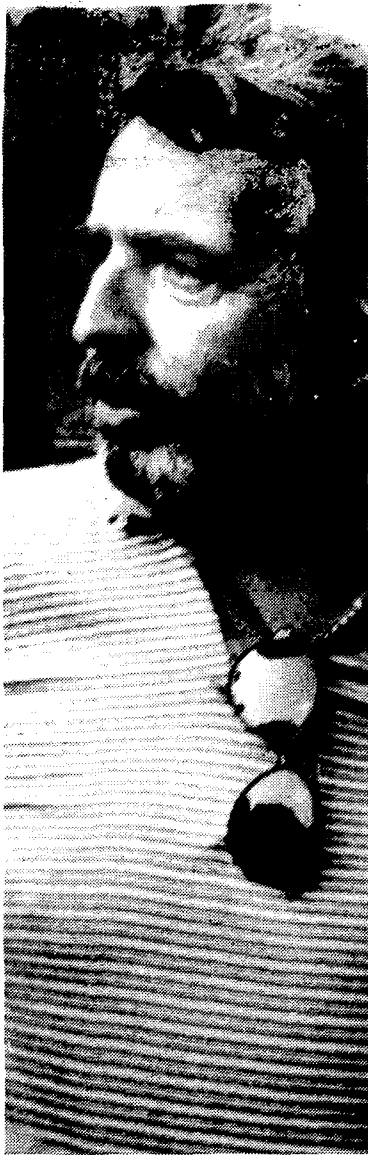
I don't think it has much to do with that. We met in the '50s, when I was in London, and we became good friends. We found a way to collaborate on a few films, screenplays. It's more to do with friendships and, perhaps, at one time a few ideas about politics, if you like.

You spoke a moment ago of a shift away from political and social concerns, and it's definitely an important part of what I see as a transition in your work.

I'm not the only one. It's not that I've suddenly given up political views about the world, which are moral ones, after all. It's just that things have changed very rapidly. We were making films not so much about politics, but about ideas and ideology, which came out of the '60s. We were very touched—it wasn't just opportunism. Then, well, you know what happened.

That's what *Jonah* is all about. Well, *Jonah* is just at the limit of the two things of a very recent past which is still alive. But also the disillusionment is coming in somewhere.

Can you conceive of a shift back? I don't know. I would hope so. But I also changed; my relation to cinema has changed. And it's



Alain Tanner's (left) new film is *IN THE WHITE CITY*, starring Bruno Ganz (right).

INTERVIEW

Tanner shifts focus to films 'about people'

closely linked with that. Not that we have abandoned politics or ideology. We have been abandoned by them. Unless you belong to a nation of the Third World, where you have very acute social, economic problems, and you feel the only thing you have the right to talk about is the condition of the people around you, which I would completely accept and understand. But it's different with us.

The shift was also to realize that there's not just one dimension to man, which we thought in the '60s was the political. There are more dimensions. When you have passed the age of 50 you realize this.

Also, I think big subjects aren't filmable. International politics—who wants to make films about international politics today? It's so rotten, stupid. We can deal with that as citizens—by your vote, by your participation, through any kind of organization, etc. But to make a representation of that, is impossible. And international politics, within each state, used to be something quite interesting, but today it's getting closer to management than anything else. It's true. Chiefs of state in America, France, England, they're grocers, just grocers.

Bureaucrats.

They're just out to make the accounts, manage the bloody crisis. Nothing else. No ideas. Nothing else ever comes out of them. Who manages better, that's all. So that again is not a very good subject for representation, for film.

On the other hand, I think I detect a movement, in terms of the focus of your films being increasingly on women—that political and social relationships have be-

come subsumed into the personal relationships on a one-to-one basis.

Yes. Because if you're not talking so much about social questions, then what can you talk about? About people.

You've said, "I appropriate the world through making films."

Perhaps the reason I make films is because I have a difficulty with reality. That is really the theme of *In the White City*. The problem this man has is that he has a problem with reality.

Two last questions: you have not worked with John Berger since *Jonah*. I'm wondering if you'd talk about the different directions you've both gone in.

The reason why we worked together was that we worked on ideas. We didn't really work on scripting a film. He's much better than I am about this. And since I'm not so much today working on ideas, but much more trying to get to that mystery that is inside the texture of film—this is what I'm interested in now. It's not so much discourse that interests me now. It's to find out something else.

There's no point to working with somebody else at that stage. I might in the future. I don't know. We're still good friends. It's not that we decided never to work together again. It's just that my direction has slightly changed, you know. You cannot imagine that something as personal as *In the White City* can be done by two people. Can a poet if he wants a poem work with someone else? No, he just writes his poem. That's the way the film has been made. It can be good or bad, but you work within your own limits. Which is okay for me. I don't mind that.

Have you had any reactions from Berger on the last couple of films?

I don't see very much of him these days. He travels up and down from Paris to his mountain place. I don't know what he thinks of this film.

What are you going to do next? Same thing.

Do you have a project lined up? Yes, of course. Otherwise I would stop, if I didn't have another project. I always have one project at a time. Some people have 10 projects. They have a drawer full and, "If you don't want this one, okay, I'll give you this one." It's possible, why not?

But since I work in a chronology of my own feelings or thinking, what I hear, what I read, what I do, I cannot have two projects at the same time. And I have to finish one to start a new one. To get rid of something, to learn from the mistakes I've made, to go into the next one—this is absolutely essential.

Also, I want to make sure that the next one can be done. I would hate to spend a year on a project that isn't possible. So I think about a story, about characters, and I produce at the same time. I try to get people together, to inform them about the project, to see whether they are interested, to ask them to promise to give me money. So gradually, things are being put together, are being born altogether. I've always worked like that, and for me it's the best method. When I see all the filmmakers whose projects will never be made, I feel terrible for them.

George Robinson, a New York freelance writer, teaches film at Dowling College and is a member of the National Writers Union.

ARTS«»ENTERTAINMENT

Empty rooms

Things and people are forever moving away from us, propelled out of our grasp by that confluence of time and space that is motion. It is this reality on which Alain Tanner's *In the White City* is based. From the film's opening shot, a tanker at sea enshrouded in mist, bobbing slowly up and down in the center of the screen, we are in a world whose spatial distinctions are eroded by uncertainty, and the strangely seductive power of unfamiliar cities can work its uncanny effect on us.

Paul (Bruno Ganz), a Swiss ship's engineer, has, for no apparent reason, jumped ship in Lisbon, where he takes up with a bartender/chambermaid, Rosa Teresa Madruga. But that is only a pretext—the unfamiliar landscapes of Lisbon and the disarming nature of time slipping away constitute the real plot of *In the White City*.

Anyone coming to this film in search of conventional psychology will be sorely disappointed. As Tanner states, he is no longer interested in the "ideological" issues that occupied him in the period of his collaboration with John Berger. He is more concerned now with the poetic interplay of time and space at the heart of all cinema, from the most abstract to the most mundane. For Tanner—at least in this film—that interplay has replaced both psychological and sociological concerns.

This film is about the strange gray-white Vermeer light that vibrates through the interiors, or the mist that seems to hang over Geneva, where Paul's wife receives the letters and super-8 films that he sends her. It is a film about the loneliness of empty rooms and public spaces and the voyeurism of the stranger in a foreign place in which the quotidian is made strange.

Paul must inevitably lose Rosa and leave Lisbon. Tanner has foreordained the outcome in the film's *mise-en-scene*, in the camera movements that create a tension between foreground and background and emphasize Paul's distance from the world around him. Paul may be in Lisbon, but he is never of it. This is emphasized by Tanner's uncanny use of the super-8 footage.

Some links tie *In the White City* to Tanner's earlier works. The relationship between Paul and Maria is a more abstract version of the affair in *Middle of the World*, albeit without the fascination with class differences that grounded the latter film in a more conventional social and psychological reality. Passing references to the plight of Portuguese *gastarbeiters* echo the problems of Marie in *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000*. Paul is an archetypal Tanner "man in-between," caught in the webs of his own alienation. What makes *In the White City* different from Tanner's best-known works (in the U.S., at any rate), and of a piece with recent films, like *Messidor* and *Light Years Away*, is its obsession with the palpable nature of light, motion, time—in short, with the poetics of the image itself.

—G.R.

By Pat Aufderheide

If there's any American aesthetic ground of the kind staked out internationally by avant-garde film and social critics Jean-Luc Godard and Raul Ruiz, Jill Godmilow wants to claim it. The veteran independent filmmaker (*Antonia: Portrait of a Woman*; *The Popovich Brothers of South Chicago*) has made a movie that pushes at the limits of documentary—and the patience of audiences accustomed to the authoritative tone of most nonfiction film—on the subject of the Polish Solidarity movement and its reception in the West.

In a jaded film world where "avant-garde" usually means yesterday's novelty, her film *Far from Poland*, debuting at New York's Film Forum October 3, is provocative, awkward and contentious. It challenges the terms of documentary form.

The project began when the strike that brought Solidarity to the surface broke out as she was finishing a videotape, with Andre Gregory (*My Dinner with Andre*) on Jerzy Grotowski.

"Solidarity came at a time when I couldn't see how anything was going to change in the world," she told *In These Times*. "It seemed like a real self-limiting—non-violent—revolution. The entire population rejected the state's doublespeak. The wall of fear broke down, and the country turned inside out. What was paramount was their refusal to engage in either dominant political ideology—capitalism or communism.

"I thought that if this worked in Poland it could be the end of the empire in Eastern Europe, and then Cold War ideology on this side wouldn't work. I thought, 'This is finally the break in the Cold War.'"

So she tried to make a movie about that challenge to established political categories. Her first stumbling block came when she couldn't get a visa to return to Poland. Then, when she attempted to get Solidarity to send her footage, movement leaders sent her "canned" statements read by a public relations official.

The final version of the film is an interweaving of three sets of information. One is familiar to documentary viewers: the filmmaker interviews Poles, provides summary facts and uses film clips from newsreels and TV reports. Another uses an increasingly familiar documentary technique: re-enactment from written testimony. The third is outright fiction, domestic scenes in which Godmilow argues with her apolitical boyfriend about her obsession with the drama far away from her New York artist's loft.

The result is a kind of epistemological fugue, an interrelated set of answers surrounding, but not deciding, the question of how to understand a mass movement that rejects authority while demanding power.

Beyond categories.

None of the sets of information is delivered gracefully, and that is deliberate. As Godmilow tries to explain to her boyfriend, this spontaneous mass movement is beyond smug categories and sober judgment; the process of people grabbing grassroots power is messy. She likens this political

conflict to the artist's struggle to break out of existing cultural forms. "The task of culture is to maintain the status quo, and the task of art is to challenge it," she said. *Far from Poland* attempts to link the two struggles of the workers and of the artist, using unorthodox film techniques to challenge received wisdom on political change.

Right at the start, Godmilow draws the viewer into her problems of presentation. "Hey, Joe, we got another struggle for freedom and dignity," her boyfriend jeers. "You're using them [the Poles] to prove you're right and everyone else is wrong," he tells her.

Her Polish friends tell her any insightful film will feed anti-Soviet propaganda and make life harder for Poles. "Send food to Poland instead," they urge. In short, her domestic fiction sequences are a minor study in artistic alienation.

Godmilow also shows how she gathered information, including a lengthy sequence in which she works with Polish emigres to get Solidarity footage. The sinking feeling with which the viewer watches the dull material that finally arrives goes a long way to explain why *Far from Poland* is a film of dissatisfaction with traditional documentary.

The most successful moments in the film are the re-enactments, each of which comments both on the history of Solidarity and on the ways that nonfiction film plays with reality before offering it up as truth.

She uses three testimonies: the story of Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing triggered the Gdansk shipyard strike; the confessions of a Polish censor; and a composite of reports of Silesian miners who accepted overtime work at a moment of economic crisis. The re-enactments bring out not so much what these people say, but how they say it, and how we see it.

Anna's testimony, for instance, is a heroic tale of resistance to state authority and also the portrait of a sternly selfrighteous woman. The actress' power to draw us into one person's reality is pointed up by a sudden, jolting cutaway to footage of the real Anna.

The censor's remarks don't expose the existence of censorship—a well-known fact—but do reveal how those who do the work justify it to themselves. In case the viewer is distracted by the "revelations," the laugh track running under the man's narrative will bring attention back to the ironies of his style. Finally, the convincing re-enactment of a conversation between a Western journalist and a Silesian miner is delivered with a warning from the filmmaker that the event is synthetic, made up from several similar interviews.

No easy answers.

True to the tradition of the Western artists, for whom anarchism has often been a refuge from pol-

itical dogmatism, Godmilow confronts all authority, most obviously here politicians. Reagan's televised platitudes on the subject of freedom from Soviet domination run in the background to her quarrels with her boyfriend. Her dreams are full of conversations with Fidel, who warns her that Third World liberation movements may be endangered by Polish irresponsibility. And the film's take on the current Polish leadership is succinctly put in a fantasy ending in which Gen. Jaruzelski is put in jail after Solidarity's victory.

Far from Poland refuses to assume the role of information dispenser or armchair tour guide. It lacks manners, violating film etiquette in order to keep you from relaxing into familiar ideological postures. Because it delivers no answers, it can be frustrating to watch. But it can also engage and provoke, because it is open-ended. *Far from Poland* is a work-in-progress as a matter of conviction. Denying that knowledge is static, it also confirms that the mind of the viewer is as

full of images as the screen is.

Still, Godmilow is aware of the narrow audience for her explorations on celluloid, especially in a country so impoverished in forums for documentary.

"I may be speaking most directly to other filmmakers about our responsibilities and possibilities," she said. "As the film got more complicated and as I recognized that I was losing any chance of getting it on to public TV, the film became at least as much about film and political language as it is about Poland. I thought, 'I can't do anything about Poland, but I can open up the language a little.'"

Like the best of Godard, *Far from Poland* is film criticism and social criticism at the same time. It is successful because it is critical rather than cynical. If the result is sometimes awkward and even heart-on-sleeve, that may be the price of opening up the language a little.

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FILM

Poland without dogma



Solidarity heroine Anna Walentynowicz (top) and actress Ruth Maleczek (bottom) in Godmilow's *FAR FROM POLAND*



Far from Poland

Israel

Continued from page 13

67 Jewish residents of Hebron, the May 1948 defeat and death of Jews defending the Etzion Bloc kibbutzim south of Jerusalem are vividly implanted in her psyche. Unlike Salomeh, she was not present for these events that shape her consciousness. Born in Wisconsin, Blass came to Israel in 1972 "for religious Zionist reasons."

What is the difference, I ask Blass, between her passion for this land and that of a Palestinian who yearns for the farm he lived on before 1948?

"The difference is that one nation has roots in the area that are true and deep. The other's roots are very recent. The Jews, she says, have "returned to our ancestral homeland. No other nation can you point to and say they have been thrown out of their land and kept their sense of nationhood for 2,000 years. The fact that I was born in America is an interesting part of my personal history, but it doesn't tell me where my homeland is. We have an unmistakable similarity to the people who were here 2,000 or 3,000 years ago. We may be wearing jeans but we still say the same prayers, follow the same religion, speak the same language, are part of the same culture."

While Blass speaks of cultural continuity with the ancient past, I am struck by the extent to which these settlers have planted a little piece of modern America or Western Europe on the inhospitable West Bank soil.

Remove the armed guard at the gate and the fence topped with barbed wire, and Ofra's prefabricated detached homes—their well-watered front lawns cluttered with toys and bicycles—would present the archetypal image of a modest income U.S. commuter suburb. Like all West Bank Jewish settlements, no matter how small, it is connected by bus to an urban center, Jerusalem.

Of course, without the guard and the

fence, Blass would not feel safe in a small Jewish community surrounded by hostile Arab villagers. She could not calmly sit in a rocking chair, chatting with me and holding her youngest infant, while the other four children play outside, occasionally running in to raid the refrigerator. Ofra residents would not feel secure while they cultivate crops or work in their computer software business.

A few days before my visit, 27 settlers, including some key Gush leaders, were arrested as suspected members of the anti-Palestinian terror underground. All week, Israeli journalists had been quizzing Blass about those arrests. By now, she was so well prepared for the inevitable question—doesn't Gush's expansionist ideology make it a breeding ground for violence—that she raises the issue before I do.

"You wouldn't find here any serious advocate of the ideology justifying a violent underground," she asserted, because Gush Emunim is "against violence and against killing." Only later, when Israeli authorities released the suspects' names, did I learn that they included three of Blass' Ofra neighbors.

Self-critical Israelis.

Israel does not rest easily in its role as conquerer and occupying power. Each act of violence, repression or expropriation against Palestinians in the occupied territories produces an anguished response somewhere within this intensely self-reflective society. It is not unusual for a newspaper "letter to the editor" to say that "Jewish terrorism is a cancer and if this disease is allowed to persist, the very life blood of Jewish society will be drained" or for a mainstream public figure like Benvenisti to warn that Israel's West Bank policies may produce "a regime ominously similar to that of South Africa."

"For me it is unbearable that already for 17 years we keep 1.25 million Arabs under military government, bereft of civic and political status," says Alouph Hareven, a 30-year veteran of the Israeli

army and intelligence service. His views are shared by a sizable minority of Israeli Jews.

A smaller group of Israelis raise deeper questions about their government. Rabbi Jeremy Millgram, who coordinates Jewish-Arab student dialog groups at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, speaks, though with some hesitation, of wrongs that may be inherent in Zionism. In a highly militarized society he is a selective conscientious objector—unwilling to serve in Israel's Lebanon war and occupation.

Not that these are easy subjects for Millgram. As a one-hour interview turns into three hours of earnest discussion, he speaks slowly—sometimes pausing at mid-sentence, even mid-word—to rephrase his thoughts more precisely.

"For most Israelis the Arab population is almost an invisible population. There are certain professions that almost become exclusively Arab: the building trades, waiters, gas station attendants."

Moreover, "with the security problems we have, Arabs aren't simply invisible citizens, they are citizens who tend to be suspected.... An Arab who studies electrical engineering at this university...can't get any job in industry, because almost all the industry is either involved with military contracts or would like to be."

Housing segregation is almost universal. "There are certain built-in restrictions to integration. Housing is built for people who are immigrants or for people who have served in the army.... But what's more important than that is really a pattern of habitation. Most Arabs want to live in their villages. In the pattern of modern Zionism, most Jews came and built new communities and those communities were Jewish communities."

Millgram came to Israel from the U.S. as a teenager. Before his "aliyah" in 1981, he thought very little about Palestinians. (Aliyah, literally "ascent" in Hebrew, is the journey made by one who comes to Israel to be part of the Jewish homeland.) He was attracted by the egalitarian vision of socialist-Zionism, re-

pelled by a war-like and racially divided America.

Now, he sadly finds himself coming almost full circle. "In the States I was very much opposed to the war in Vietnam and upset about the black-white situation. And unfortunately, I think we've discovered here that those problems have pursued us."

The Israeli spirit of self-criticism is an important source of hope for change in Israel. Yet it may not be enough. For every hopeful sign, there is a countervailing source of despair.

Thus, the *Jerusalem Post* displayed one of Israel's greatest strengths when it condemned a top government official, Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen-Avidov, as a man "consumed by the racism and arrogance that inevitably infests those who would dominate another people or ethnic group, and squelch their dignity." Most American newspapers would hesitate to respond so firmly to any utterance, no matter how vicious, by one of our congressional leaders.

But Cohen-Avidov also represents a significant strand of Israeli thought. In the remarks that provoked the *Post*, he said that a "strong hand" must be used when Israel deals with the Palestinians. "I've lived with the Arabs and know them only too well.... I'd tear out the eyes and the guts of the murderers amongst them." As the *Post* noted, such "evil words have a constituency" and "reflect the malignancy that has fastened itself upon the increasingly convulsive public mind."

This lively and contentious Israeli democracy cannot drift unthinkingly toward apartheid. But there is an even more disturbing possibility: it could, step by step, in political decisions ratified at the ballot box after intense and angry debate, choose the path of repression. Many Palestinian Arabs and some Israeli Jews say this has already happened.

Steve Askin is Washington bureau chief for the *National Catholic Reporter*, in which a different version of this story appeared.

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Trudeau

Continued from page 24

and that the strip could be in nearly 800 papers when it resumes. "We haven't had to do a lot of arm twisting," Salem says.

At least 20 newspapers refused to bring back the comic strip when they were informed by UPS that it had to be run at the same size as it was before the leave of absence. In July UPS reduced the width of all its strips from 44 picas to 38.6 picas, but Trudeau insisted that Doonesbury return at the old width.

"We thought that given the amount of language in the strip and its importance to readers, we could not countenance that reduction," Salem says.

When I begged Salem to divulge the contents of the strip to be run on September 30, he offered the vaguest of hints: "A couple of the regular characters will be there as well as a major political figure."

The October issue of *Life* magazine offers some clues as to what the Doonesbury gang will be up to when it returns.

• Mike Doonesbury, who's always been a little shy with women, has dropped out of business school and taken a job with a Manhattan advertising agency. Mike is now married to J.J., the daughter of Joanie Caucus.

• J.J. has settled for a career in the "plastic arts."

• Marvelous Mark Slackmeyer has departed from the campus radio station. After a brief stint at a Long Island radio

station, Slackmeyer was hired by National Public Radio and given his own show, *All Things Reconsidered*. (At NPR in Washington, Slackmeyer's name now appears on *All Things Considered*'s daily line-up of story assignments and can occasionally be heard being paged over the network's internal public address system.) Expect Slackmeyer to dog President Reagan in the remaining weeks of the campaign.

• Uncle Duke, who always had a penchant for pharmacological intervention, has been released from jail where he was being held on cocaine charges. In a move that is sure to further destabilize the region, Duke has opened a medical school for Americans in Haiti. The Baby Doc College of Physicians includes a special center for the study of voodoo. Duke's Chinese sidekick Honey is the school's dean of women.

• Zonker Harris, who always wanted to be a freshman for life, has actually graduated from college. Zonker has apparently abandoned the tanning circuit and is applying to Uncle Duke's new medical school.

• B.D., the ace quarterback with right-wing politics, is now a pro. B.D. was drafted by the Dallas Cowboys, traded to the Tampa Bay Buccaneers for a bus and then traded again to the L.A. Rams.

• Boopsie, B.D.'s cheerleader girlfriend, has also ended up in southern California where she's pursuing an acting career. Boopsie is currently working on an aerobics video that will benefit Malibu mud slide victims.

• Joanie Caucus will be caring for her newborn baby when the strip resumes. She hopes to continue her work on the

staff of Congresswoman Lacy Davenport.

Some newspapers have come up with special promotions to welcome Doonesbury back. The *Minneapolis Star & Tribune* has paid for billboard advertisements that read: "Politicians, just when you thought it was safe...Doonesbury returns." And the *Miami Herald* is sponsoring Doonesbury Day in Miami on September 29, the day before the story returns to the papers. Billed as an official welcome, the day-long celebration will feature a Doonesbury character look-alike contest.

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BOSTON, MA

October 13

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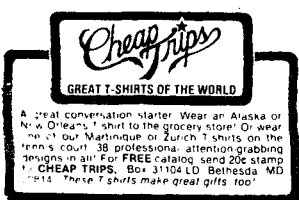
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PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, SEPTEMBER—Editorial, "What Government for Israel?" Sherry Gorelick and Maarten De Kadt, "Corporate Anti-Semitism," Howard N. Meyer, "Brandeis and the Liberal Tradition," Morris U. Schappes, "Secular Jews and Social Action." Single copies postpaid, \$1.50. Subscription \$12 USA. Jewish Currents, Dept. T., 22 E. 17 St., NYC 10003.

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The Political Life of American Jewish Women
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ing Stone contributing editor Dave Marsh. *RRC* connects the music to the issues—"Dave Marsh may turn out to be the I.F. Stone of rock and roll," Jay Walljasper, *In These Times*. Send \$15 for one year to *RRC*, Dept. ITT, Box 1073, Maywood, NJ 07607.

BERNY & JACO WILLEMBERG, *THE MYSTERY OF THE MACHO*. The book about males, their thoughts, their ambitions, their economy, their politics, their world, and about us, their victims. Paperback, 230 pages, \$9.95. BERG, 3707 Robinson, Austin, TX 78722.

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Doonesbury

RIDES AGAIN!

I ADMIT IT: I'M A DOONESBURY junkie. When Zonker, Uncle Duke and Joanie Caucus disappeared from the comic strip page in January 1983, I developed a bad case of the shakes. For weeks I found myself turning to the comic pages of the local newspapers. I knew Doonesbury was gone, but it was sort of an involuntary action.

So when Doonesbury opened on Broadway in November 1983, I was overjoyed. The Great White Way was apparently not ready for the gang from Walden Commune. The Doonesbury musical lasted four months.

But out of the offices of Universal Press Syndicate (UPS) in Kansas City comes the one prayer we have of defeating Ronald Reagan in November: Doonesbury Rides Again! Ed Meese and the other members of Reagan's country club are probably sweating in their caviar.

After a 20-month sabbatical, the Pulitzer prize winning comic strip returns to newspapers on Sunday, September 30. Legions of strung out Doonesbury readers, newspaper editors and nervous politicians have anticipated its resumption. At least one public celebration is planned.

Gary Trudeau, the 35-year-old creator of Doonesbury, announced he was taking a sabbatical at the end of 1982 to provide new direction for the characters, most of whom live in a fictional Massachusetts commune. "It's time for them to make the journey from draft beer and mixers to cocaine and herpes," Trudeau declared in a UPS press release. (He refuses all interview requests.)

During his vacation from the strip, he became the proud father of twins born to his wife Jane Pauley, co-host of the NBC-TV *Today* show. Trudeau shifted his talents from the comic strip page to the Broadway stage.

Elizabeth Swados, who wrote the music for the Broadway show, is a friend of Trudeau's. She took some time out from rehearsals of the musical's touring company to talk about the return of the comic strip.

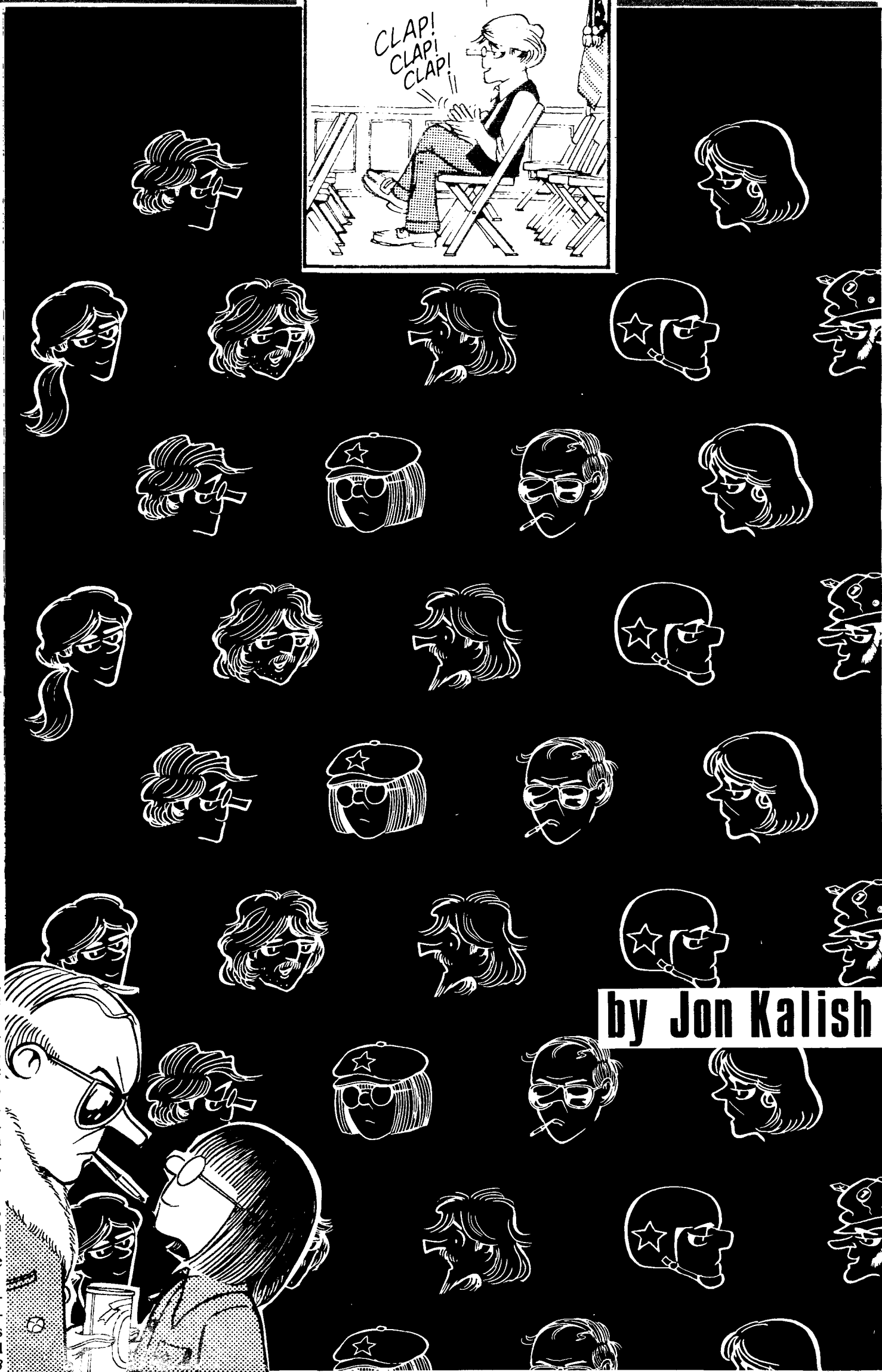
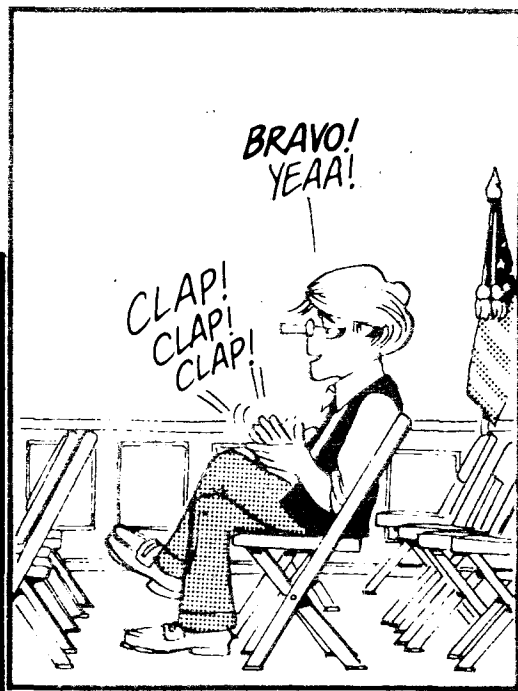
"I'm going to start buying the *Daily News* again so I can read it," she told me. "I hope to get a preview of it when I go over to Gary's house to write more songs. I peer over his shoulder. I think that the strip is very important."

Swados and Trudeau have collaborated on 18 new songs that she describes as "anti-Reagan." Swados writes the music and Trudeau writes the lyrics. The tunes are currently being presented as a musical review called "Rap Master Ronnie" at a Greenwich Village nightclub and will run through election day. "I know he's excited about the songs we've been writing," Swados says.

Trudeau's editor at UPS, Lee Salem, says the reclusive cartoonist began writing Doonesbury again in the summer. "When his material comes in, it's the highlight of my week."

Doonesbury was running in 726 newspapers in the U.S. and abroad when Trudeau went on sabbatical. UPS reports that number has already been surpassed

Continued on page 23



by Jon Kalish